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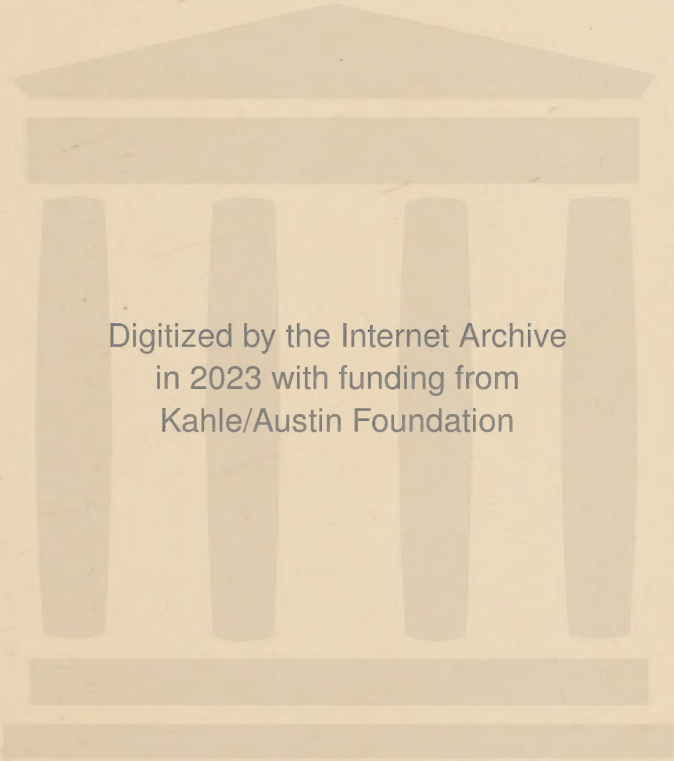
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THE
STRUCTURE OF POLITICS
AT THE
ACCESSION OF GEORGE III

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THE STRUCTURE OF POLITICS

AT THE

ACCESSION OF GEORGE III

L. B. NAMIER

VOL. II

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V

SHROPSHIRE POLITICS AND MEN AT THE ACCESSION OF GEORGE III

V

SHROPSHIRE POLITICS AND MEN AT THE ACCESSION OF GEORGE III

For several reasons Shropshire politics about 1760 deserve attention. Here was a county which returned twelve Members to Parliament, but among its five boroughs there was only one that, according to the standards of the time, could be described as corrupt. In none of them had the right of returning Members passed into the hands of a narrow, self-recruiting corporation; in none was it attached to "burgages" which, if bought up in sufficient numbers, would have absolutely secured its representation to their owner; in none had the Government any considerable electoral influence; and in none were the resident burgesses swamped by out-voters. In all the Shropshire boroughs the franchise can be described as fairly wide; and since the death of Henry, third Earl of Bradford, in 1734, the county was singularly free of an over-towering aristocratic, territorial influence. Still, the representation of the Shropshire constituencies was practically hereditary in about a dozen families, and in three of its boroughs remained so till their disfranchisement in 1885.

Another remarkable feature of Shropshire politics towards the end of George II's reign was that this county, though free of Government influence and aristocratic predominance, and situated in what then was the Tory belt of the north-west of England, returned as a rule a solid corps of at least eight Whigs—solid especially by its

following one leader, in a way unknown at that time in any other English county. "The Shropshire Whigs" were always treated as a group, and most dealings between them and Administration passed through their acknowledged chief, Henry Arthur (Herbert), Earl of Powis, Lord Lieutenant of Shropshire. It was he who would solicit and negotiate for them favours and places from the Government, who would arrange Shropshire election affairs with the Duke of Newcastle, and to whom the Duke would apply for the attendance and votes of its "old corps of Whigs". Still, no one would ever have thought of describing them as the "Powis Whigs". It was not he who returned them; a Forester at Great Wenlock or a Whitmore at Bridgnorth did not depend on him for his seat; nor did even a Hill or a More at Shrewsbury, although Powis was Recorder of the town. There was voluntary interdependence between them, faintly reproducing "livery", modestly anticipating party organisation.

One must not exaggerate the importance of that peculiar formation which was on a very small scale and in a way unique, but which, by contrast, helps to bring out certain features in the Parliamentary structure of other counties. Take, *e.g.*, Cambridgeshire, whose solid Whig representation at the dissolution in 1761 was continued at the ensuing general election in its three constituencies (the County, the Borough, and the University). But Lord Granby, the famous general, and son of the Duke of Rutland, Lord Royston, son and heir to Lord Hardwicke, the Hon. Charles Sloane Cadogan and Soame Jenyns, a Commissioner of the Board of Trade, the Hon. Thomas Townshend and the Hon. Edward Finch naturally did not require the mediation of a territorial manager with the Government; each of them belonged to an important political "connexion", and the territorial element counted for very little with them. Or again, in Yorkshire, where in 1761 Lord Rockingham was the leader of the Whigs, a Whig Member returned for

an Admiralty borough or for a pocket borough of the Duke of Newcastle or the Duke of Devonshire had obligations which cut across territorial alignments ; nor did a son of the Duke of Rutland, when sitting for a Yorkshire constituency, owe suit to the territorial manager. The Shropshire Whigs, on the other hand, were almost all independent country gentlemen, unconnected either with Administration or with any great territorial houses, and it was this which seems to have produced that curious group formation.

During the comparatively short term of its existence, the Shropshire group showed singular vitality, and even a tendency to grow, like a coral reef. The political leadership of Lord Powis extended beyond the confines of Shropshire, into the Welsh counties of Montgomery, where he owned large estates,[1] of Radnor (which will have to be included in this essay), and even of Cardigan ; and the group grew also through personal connexions—*e.g.* John Walsh, M.P. for Worcester, connected with Clive, adhered to it. At the head of such a group, Lord Powis carried political weight out of proportion to his own territorial influence and standing, but he had also to shoulder political obligations such as, *e.g.*, the Duke of Bedford did not bear to his immediate followers, most of whom owed their seats to his electoral influence. As leader of his Whig group, Lord Powis, in the last years of George II's reign, came into conflict with two great (and very petty) men, William (Pulteney), Earl of Bath, and Lord Carnarvon, son and heir to the second Duke of Chandos. To their intense surprise, dismay, and indignation, Powis, whom they considered their inferior in political and social standing, got the better of them. For it was a fight between essentially

[1] In a letter to the Duke of Newcastle, on July 1, 1745, Lord Powis (then Lord Herbert) wrote, when recommending a friend for rector of Montgomery : " Your Grace will remember that Montgomery is one of my boroughs ; and that fixing a friend there is of consequence to me " (Add. MSS. 32704, f. 445).

different political formations, in which Newcastle, however anxious to please everybody and make everyone " easy ", could not disavow the leader of such a respectable corps of Whigs. The Whig Administration had to stand by its own steady adherents. This gave new offence to Lord Bath and Lord Carnarvon, who had never been on close terms with the Duke of Newcastle and the " main body " of the Whigs, and made them turn once more to the " reversionary resource " of the Prince of Wales ; on his accession as George III they both immediately resumed, under more auspicious circumstances, their old quarrels in Shropshire and Radnorshire.

On December 19, 1760, Newcastle, in one of his habitual fits of panic and despair, complained to Richard Rigby of " the very little weight he had in the closet " and of the Whigs being " given up in many parts of England ", and he named three instances to prove his assertion : the first was that of Legge in Hampshire (which, too, was a petty Leicester House conflict, engineered and managed by Carnarvon) ;

> the second was the turning out Lord Powis from his Lieutenancy of Shropshire to make way for Lord Bath ; and the third was the removing certain persons in South Wales, who have long had the management of elections in that part of the world : I conjecture his Grace meant Mr. Gwynne, who is now Member for Radnor, where Lord Carnarvon is sent down with pretty large powers ; and Sir M. Phillips' support in Pembrokeshire against Sir William Owen.[1]

[1] Richard Rigby to the Duke of Bedford, December 19, 1760 ; *Bedford Correspondence*, vol. ii. pp. 423-4. Gwynne sat for Radnorshire, not for Radnor, and the correct name of Phillips was John ; this was the well-known Tory and *quondam* Jacobite. About this election in the county of Pembroke the following remark appears against the name of Sir William Owen, Bart., in Lord Bute's list of M.P.'s returned in 1761 : " Join'd with S^{r} John Philips to turn out Campbell of Calder, afterwards was turn'd out of the county by S^{r} John Philips, and compromised for the borough " (Add. MSS. 38333, f. 106). By the time Newcastle preferred his complaint, full harmony seems to have been

Indeed, Powis and the political affairs of Shropshire and Radnorshire loomed large in the first conflicts of the new reign. An inquiry into them will help to reduce these opening incidents to their proper dimensions and to free them from the legend which has grown up about them—a legend which has its roots in the ever-recurring, neurotic fears of the Duke of Newcastle ; in the high political cant of Lord Bath, a brilliant, eloquent, vindictive, mean man, whose arguments were always grand and " whose head went perpetually wrong " ; and in the " literary afterthoughts " of Edmund Burke and the latter-day Whigs, translating the events of 1760 into terms alien to that time.

A last (accidental) circumstance which imparts a peculiar interest to the Shropshire politics of that time is that, beginning with about 1761, a powerful East Indian interest arose in the county. It happened that Lord Clive and Lord Pigot were both connected with Shropshire, which became the political base of the Clive family. Lord Clive, his brother William, his cousin George, his sons Edward and Robert, and his secretary, Henry Strachey, all at various times sat for Shropshire boroughs ; so did Lord Pigot and his brother Hugh ; whilst Clive's father sat for Montgomery, and John Walsh, Clive's secretary and lifelong friend, for the town of Worcester. Subsequently, through the marriage of Lord Clive's son and heir to a daughter, and ultimately heiress, of Lord Powis, the political " interests " of the Clives and the Shropshire Herberts became merged, and in 1804 the title of Powis was re-created in the descendants of Lord Clive.

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restored in Pembrokeshire. At the county meeting, on December 4, Sir John Phillips was proposed by W. Edwardes, M.P. for Haverford-West, and seconded by Sir Thomas Stepney, " upon which Sir William Owen, bart. (the present Member), thanked the gentlemen for their former services, and joined in the unanimous resolution of the gentlemen at the meeting . . . we hear Sir William Owen will be elected for the town of Pembroke . . ." (*The Public Ledger*, December 11, 1760, p. 1146).

The Shropshire Constituencies

The County.

According to eighteenth-century ideas, Shropshire was in 1761 a thoroughly independent county—the choice of its knights of the shire lay with the rank and file of the country gentry. By the middle of the century a tacit understanding seems to have grown up between the Whigs, who controlled at least four out of the five Shropshire boroughs (only Bishop's Castle was uncertain), and the Tories, who predominated in the county. Thus, on October 17, 1760, Lord Powis explained in a letter to the Duke of Newcastle that Lord Bath met with " little encouragement " from the Tories in his attempts to get his son, Lord Pulteney, returned for Shrewsbury,

> the greatest part of them choosing rather to give no support to Lord Bath, in a point he could not carry against us at Shrewsbury, than by interposing there, give offence to the Whigs ; and provoke them, by way of reprisal, to engage in a contest for the County ; of which, two gentlemen on the Tory interest, have long been representatives. . . .[1]

These two gentlemen, in 1760 both about seventy years old, had tried in their youth to battle against the Whig corporation at Shrewsbury and against the Whig majority in a House of Commons which decided election cases on party lines ; and both finished by abandoning the hopeless contest. Sir John Astley, second Baronet, born in 1687, sat for Shrewsbury 1727–34 and for Shropshire from 1734 till his death in 1772. His colleague, Richard Lyster, considered a Jacobite, was born in 1691, and belonged to a family settled at Rowton Castle since the fifteenth century, well known and popular in the county ; he was returned for Shrewsbury in 1722, but unseated the next year on a petition which claimed " that the Abbey Foregate, in which his interest greatly preponderated, was not included within

[1] Add. MSS. 32913, ff. 171-2.

the voting liberties, though it had enjoyed that privilege for many years ".[1] When the House decided against him, he put on his hat, turning his back on the Speaker; and when Members called him to order "he, looking round, with a firm and indignant tone said, 'When you learn justice, I will learn manners' ". In 1727, together with Sir John Astley, he was returned for Shrewsbury by an undisputed majority, but in 1734 was defeated by the partiality of the returning officer, who, like the whole corporation, adhered to the Whigs. Returned for the county at a by-election in 1740, Lyster continued to represent it till his death in 1766.

The following description which J. B. Blakeway gives of Richard Lyster in his *Sheriffs of Shropshire*[2] may be taken as the picture of a typical old Tory knight of the shire:

> The establishment of Mr. Lyster was administered upon the most ample scale of ancient English hospitality: one day in the week his table was open to every class of his constituents, from the very highest to the lowest of those who could with propriety appear at it. . . . His progress to London to attend the duties of parliament, in which he is described to have been very assiduous, had somewhat of the feudal cast. . . . He travelled in his coach and six, and was a week upon the road: his principal tenants and tradesmen accompanying him as far as Watling Street, where they were entertained at his expense. At Highgate he was met by a select body of his London tradesmen, and thus ushered to his town house, in Bow Street, Covent Garden: and the same ceremonies were repeated on his return into Shropshire. All this cost was maintained by a rental of £1800 a-year. . . .

Shrewsbury.

Shrewsbury was an independent borough which acknowledged no patron but chose its Members usually from

[1] J. B. Blakeway, *The Sheriffs of Shropshire* (1831), p. 145.

[2] P. 145. About him see also H. L. L. Denny, *Memorials of an Ancient House*, pp. 303-4.

among old Shropshire families—the Myttons, Kynastons, Corbets, Leightons, etc. The right of voting was in resident burgesses paying scot and lot, and the number of voters in 1722 exceeded 1300; it was, however, severely cut down by the determination of the House of Commons on the trial of that election, which excluded certain parts of the town from the limits of the Parliamentary borough, and less than 500 voted in 1734, and only about 300 in 1747. Even so, the borough remained independent.

The two Members returned in 1754 were Thomas Hill of Tern, and Robert More of Linley.

Thomas Hill, born in 1693, was the son of Thomas Harwood, a Shrewsbury draper, by Margaret, daughter of Rowland Hill of Hawkstone, Shropshire. He assumed the name of Hill in 1727 on succeeding to some of the estates of his uncle, Richard Hill, a distinguished statesman and diplomatist; married a daughter and co-heir of William Noel, M.P., subsequently one of the Judges of the Common Pleas, and was returned to Parliament for Shrewsbury in 1748; he retained the seat till 1768.[1] He was succeeded in it by his son, Noel Hill, subsequently first Lord Berwick, and between 1748 and 1814 there were only ten years during which Shrewsbury was not represented by a Hill of this or of the Hawkstone branch.

Robert More, born in 1703, was a grandson of Samuel More who, during the Civil War, held Hopton Castle for over a month with 31 men against 500 Royalists, and represented Shropshire in the Parliament of 1656. Robert More was "an inflexible Whig . . . proud of his grandfather, the defender of Hopton Castle".[2] From 1727 till

[1] Curiously enough, in Lord Bute's list of the House of Commons of 1761, Hill is marked as a "Tory", though the note is added: "hitherto connected with Lord Powis" (Add. MSS. 38333, f. 93). Possibly the mistake was caused by his connexion with his nephew, Edward Kynaston, M.P. for Montgomeryshire, who was a Tory.

[2] J. B. Blakeway, *The Sheriffs of Shropshire*, pp. 220-1.

1741 he sat for Bishop's Castle (which his great-grandfather, Samuel More's father, had represented both in the Short and the Long Parliament, and his uncle in 1681, 1685, and 1695), and for Shrewsbury 1754–61, when he declined standing again. Both before entering and after leaving Parliament, More travelled a good deal on the Continent, visiting Spain, Sweden, and Denmark. He was a botanist of mark, a friend of Linnaeus,[1] and F.R.S., and it was he who brought the musk-rose and the larch to England. His great-grandson and heir, Robert Jasper More, of Linley Hall, represented Shropshire in Parliament, 1865–68, and its Ludlow division from 1885 till his death in 1903—an example of the hereditary character of Parliamentary representation in Shropshire.

Bridgnorth, Wenlock, and Ludlow.

The Parliamentary history of these three Shropshire boroughs is best summed up in the pedigrees of three families: the Whitmores at Bridgnorth, the Foresters at Wenlock, and the Herbert-Clive family at Ludlow. Their tenure of these quasi-hereditary seats survived as long as the boroughs had any separate representation in Parliament (the representation of Bridgnorth and Ludlow was reduced to one Member in 1867, and all the three boroughs were merged in the county in 1885). After the first Reform Act, the Whitmores continued to hold one seat at Bridgnorth from 1832 till 1870, when Henry Whitmore accepted the Chiltern Hundreds; the Foresters retained one seat at Wenlock without a single break, 1832–85; the Herbert-Clive family held one seat at Ludlow, 1832–39 and 1847–85 (and now holds the Ludlow division of Shropshire). In short, social structure and political tradition proved much stronger than legislative enactments

[1] His friendship and connexion with Linnaeus are mentioned in Dillon's *Travels through Spain* (1781), p. 107 (*n*).

and franchises. It did not matter much whether the electorate numbered a few hundred or a few thousand, whether it was enlarged or reduced, whether the voting was open or secret—the same families continued to represent these boroughs.

Bridgnorth had one of the widest franchises in England ; the right of election was " in the burgesses and freemen within and without the borough ".[1] In the contested elections of 1727, 1734, and 1741, the number of voters each time exceeded 1000 ; in fact, it was considerably higher than after 1832. None the less, during the 209 years 1661–1870, for 200 years one Member for Bridgnorth at least, and sometimes the other as well, was a Whitmore.

At *Wenlock* the right of election was in the burgesses at large. 285 voted in the election of 1820, the first since 1722 to be carried to a poll. The registered electorate in 1832 numbered 691, and by 1874 it exceeded 3000. Seven members of the Lawley family (which has since taken its title from Wenlock) represented the borough in the seventeenth century ; two Foresters represented it in the sixteenth century, and ten sat for it between 1678 and 1885 (besides two strangers who had married into the family). Between 1734 and 1885 there were only three months in 1780 and something over a year in 1784–85, when no Forester represented Wenlock. The contested election of 1874 was still between a Forester on the Conservative, and a Lawley on the Liberal, side. The second seat was filled from 1768 till 1820 by two Bridgemans, father and son.

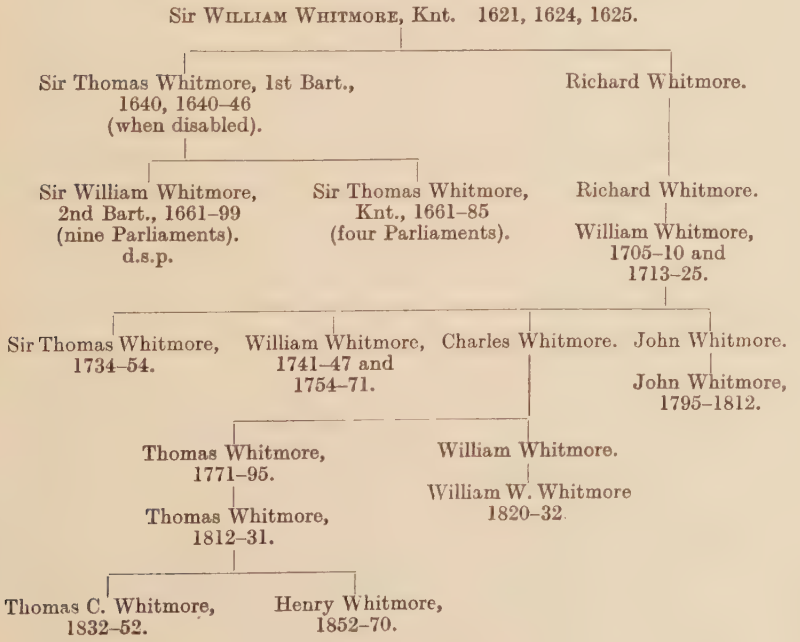
At *Ludlow* the right of election was in the resident common burgesses. 710 actually voted in 1727 ; after that there was no contested election till 1812, by which time the electorate had been reduced below 100 ; the Reform Act of 1832 raised it to 300-400. Between 1689 and 1719 Francis Herbert represented Ludlow in five Parliaments.

[1] Oldfield, *Key to the House of Commons* (1820), p. 119.

Between 1727 and 1832 the Herberts and the Clives (in the female line descended from the Herberts whose name one branch has adopted) always held one seat at Ludlow, and (if we include two relatives by marriage) even both seats during 49 out of 105 years. Between 1832 and 1885, except for eight years, 1839–47, Ludlow was never without a Herbert-Clive representative. Moreover, members of that family sat for the southern division of Shropshire 1832–59 and 1865–76, and for the northern division 1843–48; and the present Member for the Ludlow division of Shropshire is Colonel George Windsor-Clive, who succeeded his cousin in the seat; he is the son of the last Member who sat for Ludlow before it was merged in the county, and is the sixth generation in his family representing Ludlow.

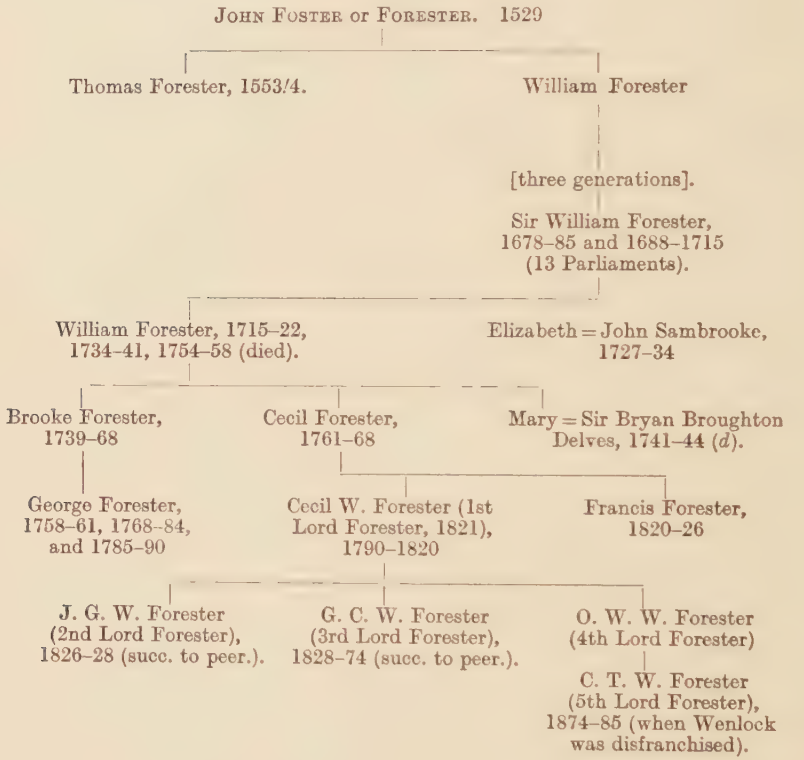
BRIDGNORTH

[*The dates denote tenure of a seat at Bridgnorth.*]


Sir William Whitmore, Knt. 1621, 1624, 1625.
Sir Thomas Whitmore, 1st Bart., 1640, 1640–46 (when disabled).
Richard Whitmore.
Sir William Whitmore, 2nd Bart., 1661–99 (nine Parliaments). d.s.p.
Sir Thomas Whitmore, Knt., 1661–85 (four Parliaments).
Richard Whitmore.
William Whitmore, 1705–10 and 1713–25.
Sir Thomas Whitmore, 1734–54.
William Whitmore, 1741–47 and 1754–71.
Charles Whitmore.
John Whitmore.
John Whitmore, 1795–1812.
Thomas Whitmore, 1771–95.
William Whitmore.
William W. Whitmore 1820–32.
Thomas Whitmore, 1812–31.
Thomas C. Whitmore, 1832–52.
Henry Whitmore, 1852–70.

WENLOCK

[*The dates denote tenure of a seat at Wenlock.*]

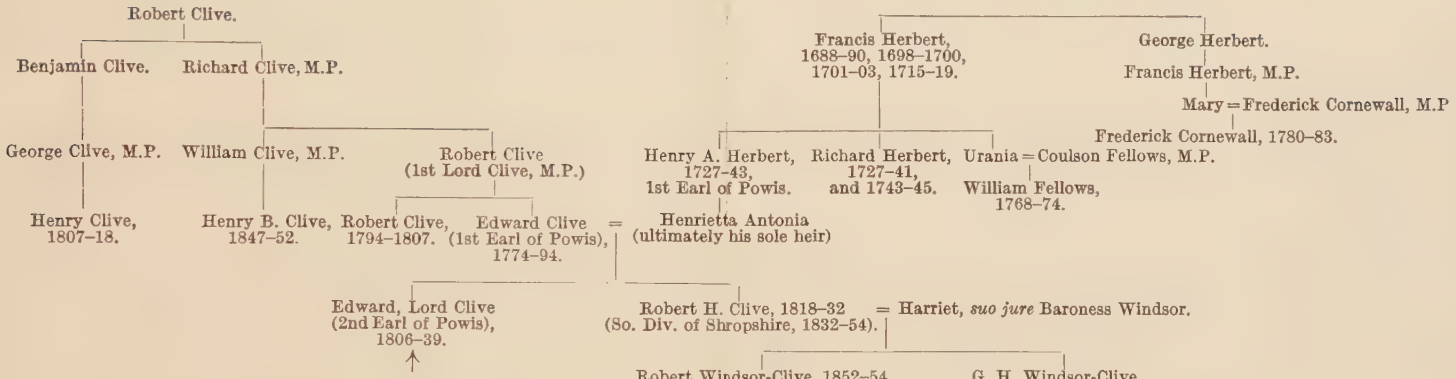

John Foster or Forester. 1529
Thomas Forester, 1553/4.
William Forester
[three generations].
Sir William Forester, 1678–85 and 1688–1715 (13 Parliaments).
William Forester, 1715–22, 1734–41, 1754–58 (died).
Elizabeth = John Sambrooke, 1727–34
Brooke Forester, 1739–68
Cecil Forester, 1761–68
Mary = Sir Bryan Broughton Delves, 1741–44 (d).
George Forester, 1758–61, 1768–84, and 1785–90
Cecil W. Forester (1st Lord Forester, 1821), 1790–1820
Francis Forester, 1820–26
J. G. W. Forester (2nd Lord Forester), 1826–28 (succ. to peer.).
G. C. W. Forester (3rd Lord Forester), 1828–74 (succ. to peer.).
O. W. W. Forester (4th Lord Forester)
C. T. W. Forester (5th Lord Forester), 1874–85 (when Wenlock was disfranchised).

Bishop's Castle.

Bishop's Castle was the one notoriously corrupt borough in Shropshire where the voters took money even from strangers in disregard of inherited ties of allegiance; and before 1761 it was the only Shropshire borough of which the representation was not confined to honest (and usually inarticulate) country gentlemen, but frequently included distinguished outsiders, in the first place London barristers and merchants and bankers: Sir Matthew Decker, first

LUDLOW

[*The dates, unless marked differently, denote tenure of a seat at Ludlow.*]


Robert Clive.
Benjamin Clive.
Richard Clive, M.P.
George Clive, M.P.
William Clive, M.P.
Robert Clive (1st Lord Clive, M.P.)
Henry Clive, 1807–18.
Henry B. Clive, 1847–52.
Robert Clive, 1794–1807.
Edward Clive (1st Earl of Powis), 1774–94.
Edward, Lord Clive (2nd Earl of Powis), 1806–39.
Francis Herbert, 1688–90, 1698–1700, 1701–03, 1715–19.
George Herbert.
Francis Herbert, M.P.
Mary = Frederick Cornewall, M.P
Frederick Cornewall, 1780–83.
Henry A. Herbert, 1727–43, 1st Earl of Powis.
Richard Herbert, 1727–41, and 1743–45.
Urania = Coulson Fellows, M.P.
William Fellows, 1768–74.
Henrietta Antonia (ultimately his sole heir)
Robert H. Clive, 1818–32 (So. Div. of Shropshire, 1832–54).
= Harriet, *suo jure* Baroness Windsor.
Robert Windsor-Clive, 1852–54 (So. Div. of Shropshire, 1854–59).
G. H. Windsor-Clive, 1860–85.
George Windsor-Clive, (Ludlow Division of Shropshire, since 1923).
Robert G. Windsor-Clive, 14th Baron Windsor and 1st Earl of Plymouth.
J.M. Windsor-Clive (2nd Earl of Plymouth), (Ludlow Division of Shropshire, 1922–23).

Another Branch of the Herbert Family, settled in Ireland.

Edward Herbert, 1745–70.

Thomas Herbert, 1770–74.

[*Facing page* 304.

Bart., the financier and writer on trade, born at Amsterdam and returned to Parliament in contravention of the Act which, until 1870, debarred foreign-born subjects from the House of Commons; William Peere Williams, a barrister, well known as a law-reporter; Samuel and Francis Child, bankers at "the Marygold by Temple Bar"; Barnaby Backwell, a nephew of Samuel Child and a partner in the bank; Peregrine Cust, a merchant; and George Clive, Alexander Wedderburn, and Henry Strachey, after the borough had come under Clive patronage.

Some incidents from the earlier record of Bishop's Castle clearly indicate its character. In 1726 Charles Mason, a local squire, alleged on petition that of the 52 voters who had carried the election against his own 16, 47 had received between them £667 : 16s., and that "most of the voters thus bribed were tenants to the petitioner, and always in his interest, and that in general they declared they would have voted for the petitioner but for the sitting member's money".[1]

On July 26, 1739, James, first Duke of Chandos, whose son, Lord Carnarvon, was to stand for Bishop's Castle at the forthcoming general election, wrote to his nephew John Walcot, the owner of an estate which adjoined the borough:

> As I am wholly a stranger at Bishop's Castle I must leave the management of that election to your devotion, and the person you tell me you have engaged for the agent. . . . Whatever the expence shall be I will readily bear, but I must trust to him to steer clear of the Act of Parliament, so as that no proof may be capable of being brought to the contrary.[2]

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[1] Oldfield, *Key to the House of Commons*, pp. 105-6. Mason carried his petition; he represented Bishop's Castle, 1708–10, 1715–22, and 1726–27.

[2] See Rev. J. R. Burton, "Two Elections for Bishop's Castle in the Eighteenth Century", *Transactions of the Shropshire Archaeological Society*, third series, vol. ix. (1909), pp. 259-66; from letters found among old Walcot MSS.

When elected, Lord Carnarvon rejoiced at his "good fortune at honest Bishop's Castle";[1] but his father contributed "nothing towards it but £70", and even after having succeeded him as second Duke of Chandos, he was still unable to discharge his election accounts, and wrote to Walcot on February 17, 1746: "I cannot but wish I had never seen Bishop's Castle. . . ."

In 1755, Walter Waring, of Owlbury, Salop,[2] whose estate gave him considerable influence in the borough, was elected for Bishop's Castle, but, being in need of money, seems to have treated his seat as a marketable commodity. In 1759 he vacated it in favour of a complete stranger, Henry Grenville, a brother of Lord Temple and George Grenville, and brother-in-law of William Pitt.

> Every thing was conducted there with great unanimity, decency, and good order, in spite of all the carousing and festivity which prevailed there [wrote Henry Grenville on February 22, 1759]; Mr. Waring's interest and Mr. Pitt's popularity, united, seemed to me quite invincible there. . . .[3]

The two men returned unopposed for Bishop's Castle in 1761, Francis Child and Peregrine Cust, though they cannot be described as absolute strangers (for they both had some family antecedents in the borough), had no real connexion

[1] J. R. Burton, *op. cit.*, in the *Transactions of the Shropshire Archaeological Society*; letter to John Walcot, May 12, 1741.

[2] Walter Waring was a grandson of Edmund Waring, M.P. for Bishop's Castle, 1660–81 and 1685 (see H. T. Weyman, "Members of Parliament for Bishop's Castle", *Trans. of the Shropshire Archaeological Society*, second series, vol. x.; 1898). He was educated at Shrewsbury school and St. John's, Cambridge; married, 1758, Hannah, daughter of John Ranby, Serjeant-Surgeon to the King. (See on him, "Suffolk Genealogies", Add. MSS. 19154, ff. 206-7; *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1809, pp. 412-13 and 1191; R. F. Scott, *Admissions to St. John's, Cambridge*.) In 1768 Walter Waring unsuccessfully contested Coventry (see pp. 127-8), but was returned at a by-election on January 25, 1773, and continued its representative till his death in 1780.

[3] See *An Eighteenth-Century Correspondence*, edited by Lilian Dickins and Mary Stanton (1910), p. 402.

with Shropshire; and while both were usually classed as Tories, they had no more in common with the two Tory knights of the shire than with Lord Powis's group of Shropshire Whigs.

Francis Child, although only twenty-five, was the head of the famous bank[1] established by his grandfather, Sir Francis Child, a self-made man. The son of a Wiltshire clothier, Sir Francis in 1698 was returned to Parliament by the Wiltshire borough of Devizes, and, in the usual style of the *nouveaux-riches*, founded a regular Parliamentary dynasty. Three of his sons sat in the House of Commons: the youngest, Samuel, from 1747 till his death in 1752 for Bishop's Castle, where his eldest son, Francis, succeeded him in 1761—not for long, for he died on September 23, 1763.[2]

Peregrine Cust was the youngest son of Sir Richard Cust, Bart., by Anne, daughter of Sir William Brownlow, Bart., and granddaughter of Sir Richard Mason, of the Masons of Bishop's Castle, from whom she inherited estates in its neighbourhood. The eldest brother was Sir John Cust, third Baronet, Speaker of the House of Commons 1761–70; the second, William, a sailor, had been killed in action in 1747; the third, Francis, was a barrister; and "little Perry", the fourth, born in 1723, was apprenticed

[1] About the bank and the Child family see F. G. Hilton Price, *The Marygold by Temple Bar* (1902).

[2] Shortly before his death, Francis Child became engaged to Maria Constantia, daughter of Robert Hampden, subsequently fourth Lord Trevor and first Viscount Hampden. "Mr. Child's wealth", wrote Hampden to Lady Suffolk on September 21, 1763, "has been one of his least recommendations with me; as I can assure you I have not met with any young man of fortune so much, in all respects, after my own heart as himself . . ." (*Letters to and from Henrietta, Countess of Suffolk* (1824), vol. ii. p. 280). A week later follows a letter about his sudden death; "with his last breath", as a mark of his affection, he left his fiancée £50,000, "to which his surviving brother has been so genteel as to add all the family jewels that were making up for her" (*ibid.* p. 281).

to a firm of linen-drapers, in which, in 1744, he became a partner. By 1761 he was a prosperous merchant, well able to defray election expenses at Bishop's Castle ; still, it was to his mother that he chose to ascribe his success.

> My first frank and my first thanks [he wrote to her on May 31, 1761] are due to your Ladyship for your assistance in procuring me the greatest honour which can be conferr'd upon a British commoner, not only without opposition but with the united hearts of the whole town.[1]

Lord Powis and his Shropshire Men

The story how George Whitmore, of the Whitmores who sat for Bridgnorth, became Commissioner of the Stamp Office, illustrates the relations between Lord Powis and the men "under his care", and also the working of the patronage system as practised in the eighteenth century. Lord Powis carefully watched vacancies in offices[2] which he thought would suit his friends or their relatives, whose fitness for any post he took for granted. The Duke of Newcastle (who as First Lord of the Treasury had to provide for many besides the Shropshire Whigs) fended, shuffled, and arranged matters as well as he could, receiving rebuffs from the King, Lord Anson, etc., when he tried to subordinate the interests of even the fighting services to the securing of votes in the House of Commons, and earning reproaches from those who felt "disgusted" whenever their candidates were not promptly provided for or promoted. The correspondence quoted below is typical of letters which reached the Duke of Newcastle from hundreds of people and from every part of the country.

On October 5, 1754, Lord Powis wrote to the Duke of Newcastle that he had read in the newspapers about the

[1] *Records of the Cust Family*, compiled by Lady Elizabeth Cust (1909), vol. ii. p. 290.

[2] Shipping intelligence and obituary notices of placemen were great features in eighteenth-century newspapers.

death of "old Mr. McSwinney; who held a good post at the Customhouse in London", and reminded the Duke of his friends, Mr. George Whitmore[1] and Mr. John Shrympster.

> The former is brother to Sir Thomas Whitmore;[2] and the other is recommended by the Messrs. Forester (the father and son),[3] who serve in Parliament for Wenlock. I mention'd to your Grace t'other day how much they were all alarm'd with the disposal of the place of Housekeeper at the Customhouse, without any notice taken of the former applications. . . . Your Grace must be sensible, I have no reason to give myself any trouble in affairs of this kind, but to serve those whom I wish well to, in the Administration. To enable me to do so, they must support my credit with those gentlemen, that I have under my care.

Another disappointment, he concluded, would be attended with much uneasiness.[4]

The Duke of Newcastle replied, on October 6, 1754,[5] that the place of housekeeper at the Custom House was only £170 p.a.: "I should have never thought of it for a gentleman of Mr. Whitmore's familly and rank. I have given it to an old servant of my own."[6] Similarly he did not think of offering Mr. Whitmore the place of McSwinney, which was £100 p.a. He intended to give him a

[1] In 1748 George Whitmore had been a candidate for the Governorship of North Carolina; see letter from Lord Powis to the Duke of Newcastle, June 7, 1748; Add. MSS. 32715, f. 174.

[2] Sir Thomas Whitmore, K.B., M.P. for Bridgnorth, 1734–54; he was succeeded in the borough by his brother William, who sat for it 1741–47, and again from 1754 till his death in 1771.

[3] William Forester, M.P. for Wenlock, 1715–22, 1734–41, and from 1754 till his death in 1758; and his son, Brooke Forester, M.P. for Wenlock, 1739–68.

[4] Add. MSS. 32737, ff. 33-4. [5] *Ibid.* f. 55.

[6] The following entry occurs in the lists prepared in December 1762 with a view to proscriptions, and preserved among the Liverpool Papers (Add. MSS. 38334, f. 216): "John Greening—Housekeeper of the Customhouse, was the Duke of Newcastle's House Steward. Worth 300£ per ann. net."

Commissionership of £400-500 a year, but there were two previous engagements for these places :

I did and do repeat my intention to serve Mr. Whitmore, whenever it is in my power, but I cannot think that lays me under any engagement not to dispose of any employment, though indeed in my opinion not at all proper for Mr. Whitmore, without first knowing his thoughts about it.

Lord Powis took note of what was said about George Whitmore and Commissionerships, and on February 15, 1755, Lord Anson, First Lord of the Admiralty, had occasion to acknowledge receipt of a letter from the Duke of Newcastle with one inclosed from Lord Powis recommending Mr. Whitmore for a vacant Commissionership of the Victualling Office :

. . . his Lordship might as properly have asked to have had him made a Capt. of a Man of War, that branch having alwayes been filled with a seaman [was Anson's comment] . . . instead of adding to the useless people that are already in that office (if we should have a war with France) more people of business must be brought into it.[1]

The next day Lord Powis suggested George Whitmore for a place at the Green Cloth, which he thought vacant,[2] and in June 1755 for the office of Keeper of the Records in the Tower, which had become vacant through the death of William Hay, M.P.[3] The Duke of Newcastle replied on June 25, 1755 :

All the earth could not make the King give this place out of the House of Commons ; and, as it is for life necessarily, I have recommended my own nephew, Jack Shelley, for it.[4] This has been my answer to several Members of the House of Commons ; and, I hope,

[1] Add. MSS. 32852, f. 485.

[2] *Ibid.* f. 511. Its holder, Sir Thomas Hales, Bart., did not die till 1762.

[3] About him see John Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes*, vol. vi. pp. 346-358 ; he is best known as the author of the *Essay on Deformity*.

[4] Sir John Shelley, fifth Baronet, born 1730, died 1783 ; M.P. for East Retford, 1751-68, Newark, 1768-74, and New Shoreham, 1774-80.

will be a satisfactory one to Mr. Whitmore. These places for life . . . are always dispos'd of in this manner.[1]

The hint that George Whitmore, not being himself a Member of Parliament, should not compete for places open to Members, was duly taken; and on November 2, 1755, William Whitmore, M.P., wrote to the Duke of Newcastle "that Mr. Shelly,[2] Commissioner of the Stamp Dutys, is dyeing and cannot recover . . . "; and as this office was not tenable with a seat in Parliament, he solicited it for his brother.[3]

Meantime, as Parliament was to meet on November 13, the Duke of Newcastle, on November 1, sent Lord Powis the customary reminder for those "under his care", coupled with appropriate promises:

My dear Lord,—You will forgive my putting you in mind to write to Mr. Harris[4] and to all our Shropshire friends, to be in Town the first day of the session and if possible, at the meeting at the Cockpit the night before. We are in great hopes of getting something for Sir T. Whitmore's brother; Mr. West has informed you how the matter stands. Mr. Bridgeman of the Guards, would have had a company, if we had applied in time, as soon as Barrington comes in, he shall take care of it.[5]

Lord Powis replied on November 4, from Darsham in Suffolk:[6]

I am honoured with your Grace's letter, which mentions your commands in relation to my Shropshire friends. Had I receiv'd them sooner, I wou'd have endeavour'd punctually to have obey'd them: but as your Grace's letter bears date on the first of this month, and I am in Suffolk, it will not be possible for

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[1] Add. MSS. 32856, f. 205.

[2] Richard Shelley, a brother of Sir John Shelley, fourth Baronet.

[3] Add. MSS. 32860, f. 317.

[4] John Harris, of Pickwell, Devon, M.P. for Barnstaple, 1741–47 and 1754–61. He was married to a sister of Lord Powis.

[5] Add. MSS. 32860, f. 279. About that time Lord Barrington succeeded Henry Fox as Secretary at War.

[6] *Ibid.* f. 342.

me to get my friends to London in time for the meeting at the Cockpit on Wednesday next, but at the meeting of the Parliament the next day, I doubt not the appearance of them all. I will do what I can to serve your Grace. . . .

I know not yet what has pass'd between your Grace and Coll. Whitmore, in consequence of the letter I receiv'd from Mr. West, by your Grace's order, in relation to Mr. George Whitmore; but I understand (and I think proper to apprize your Grace of it) that he is greatly disgusted with you, and that I shall hear from him, in a day or two, what has done it.

Next day Lord Powis reported a letter from Colonel Whitmore "full of sentiments of disgust", because he had been told that the place of Richard Shelley was already "engaged".[1]

. . . I assure your Grace that if the abovementiond employment should be vacant and not disposd of in favour of Mr. George Whitmore, such a clamour and uneasiness will certainly attend the disappointment, as will really disable me from answering your Grace's expectations in respect to my Shropshire friends.

This threat obviously had the desired effect, for the next letter from Lord Powis to the Duke of Newcastle, dated "Wednesday night, 8 o'clock" [November 12, 1755] showed renewed zeal and confidence:

My dear Lord,—I was not out of my bed till six o'clock, Mr. Hill, one of the Members for Shrewsbury (and of whom your Grace enquired of me particularly) letting me know that he wou'd call upon me this evening, ill as I have been I saw him and have the pleasure to tell you he is this moment gone down to the Cockpit. The rest of my countrymen are in town or will be tomorrow. I think all goes well with them all. . . .[2]

And on November 15 Lord Powis assured the Duke once more of "the good services" of his Shropshire friends, and

[1] Add. MSS. 32860, ff. 369-70.

[2] *Ibid.* f. 461. Note the use of the word "countrymen"; in the eighteenth century the county was often described as one's "country".

added that Colonel Whitmore was "full of spirits and confidence in your Grace's kind disposition to serve his brother in the affair of the Stamp Office. . . . your favour to him will be a matter of éclat, that will enable me the better to support your Grace's measures for His Majesty's service".[1]

On December 5, 1755, George Whitmore was appointed Commissioner of Stamp Duties in succession to Richard Shelley, deceased.[2]

Less successful, though no less interesting, were the endeavours of Powis and Newcastle in the matter of Cecil Forester, of the Foresters who sat for Wenlock. The story starts with an entry in Newcastle's "Memorandums for the King" (notes for conversations, not memoranda presented to him), under date of March 6, 1759: "Lord Powis—Mr. Forrester—Lieut.-Colonel Cecil Forrester";[3] and on March 15, 1759, the Duke received a direct application from Brooke Forester, M.P. [the "Mr. Forrester" mentioned above], asking that his brother be made aide-de-camp to the King.

The long steaddy attachment my family has always show'd, and the few favours we have solicited, I think makes my request far from

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[1] *Ibid.* f. 490.

[2] See Haydn, *Book of Dignities*, 3rd edition, p. 283, and *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 1755, p. 573. In January 1763, during the mass proscription of Newcastle's followers, the remark appears about George Whitmore in the list of "Officers of Stamp Duties", drawn up for the Treasury: "George Whitmore, a brother of Gen[l] Whitmore, appointed about five years ago by the interest of Lord Powis. A good Commissioner" (Liverpool Papers; Add. MSS. 38335, f. 58). He was none the less dismissed in February 1763, but reinstated by the Rockingham Government in 1765. He retained the post till his death in 1775.

[3] Add. MSS. 32888, f. 373. Cecil Forester, born 1721, died 1774; Major in Colonel Murray's Regiment of Foot, 1748; Lieutenant-Colonel, 1752–60, when he left the Service; M.P. for Wenlock, 1761–1768.

unreasonable. . . . As my brother has been ill us'd, if he is not prefer'd he is determind to give up immediately.[1]

The Duke, as usual, was anxious to oblige, but he had any number of requests for military promotions from Members of the House of Commons, and, fortunately for the Army, it was Lord Ligonier, the Commander-in-Chief, not Newcastle, who placed military recommendations before the King.

The affairs of the Army are totally out of my department, [wrote Newcastle on March 24, 1759, to Viscount Fitzwilliam, who had applied to him on behalf of his brother, John Fitzwilliam, M.P.] and if I ever mention them to the King, I must own His Majesty is not pleased with it. My Lord Ligonier is the proper, and indeed the only person, to lay applications of this sort before the King.[2]

But the fact that such an important branch of patronage was not under his charge was a standing grievance with Newcastle. The entry in the "Memorandums" of March 19, 1759—"Military recommendations from the House of Commons"[3]—is thus amplified on March 20:[4]

Military paper.
To know the King's pleasure what I must do in it.
All Members of the House of Commons.
If the King expects that I should keep up an interest there, I must be supported; and military commissions, when asked for proper persons, when there are ninety thousand men, it will furnish many opportunities of doing it.

In the next few months further entries about Forester continue to appear in the Duke's memoranda; "Colonel Forester, Aide-de-Camp", "Lord Powis and the Shropshire Members—Lieut.-Colonel Forester", etc. Later on, Powis

[1] Add. MSS. 32889, f. 86. The statement about the "few favours" solicited by the Foresters is substantially correct. In Lord Bute's list of the House of Commons the remarks are placed against the name of Brooke Forester: "Old Whig". "By Whiggism attach'd to Lord Powis as the head of that party in Shropshire, but solliciting very few favours of Government" (Add. MSS. 38333, f. 93). The "but" is characteristic.

[2] Add. MSS. 32889, f. 223.

[3] *Ibid.* f. 140.

[4] *Ibid.* f. 155.

tried to link up the case of Col. Forester with the, for Newcastle highly embarrassing, affair of Shrewsbury,[1] asserting that no accommodation could be reached in it unless Forester was made aide-de-camp to the King or given a regiment. On August 12, 1759, the Duke of Newcastle replied in despair :

> Your Lordship knows my zealous wishes for Colonel Forester's service ; the King knows them ; my Lord Ligonier knows them. It is not in my power to make any absolute promise of any military preferment ; and therefore I should be extremely to blame to promise what it may not be in my power to perform.[2]

He failed, and consequently Cecil Forester seems to have left the Army in disgust. At the general election in March 1761 he was returned to Parliament for the family borough of Wenlock ; but, it must be added, he entered it a good Whig, apparently bearing no ill-will to the universal scapegoat, the Duke of Newcastle.

Lord Powis and Radnorshire

When in February 1755 a vacancy occurred in the representation of Radnorshire, George Rice, M.P. for Carmarthenshire and one of Newcastle's political managers in Wales, informed him that two years earlier, in expectation of the event, Mr. Pelham had consulted Lord Powis, and " Mr. Howell Gwynne was fixt upon as a proper candidate " ; [3] and that he (Rice), Lord Carnarvon, Mr. Lewis,[4] and Lord Bateman,[5] would wait on the Duke about

[1] See below, pp. 320-31. [2] Add. MSS. 32894, f. 103.

[3] February 7, 1755 ; Add. MSS. 32852, f. 388.

[4] Thomas Lewis of Harpton (1690–1777), M.P. for Radnor borough from 1715 till 1761, when returned again, but unseated on petition.

[5] John Bateman, second Viscount Bateman of Ireland (1721–1802), M.P. for Orford, 1746–47, Woodstock, 1747–68, and Leominster, 1768–1784. A grandson of Charles, third Earl of Sunderland, and great-grandson of John, first Duke of Marlborough, he was politically connected with the third Duke of Marlborough and also with Henry Fox ; after the accession of George III he became one of the " King's friends ".

it. Lord Carnarvon failed to attend, but was apprised by Newcastle of the others being agreed that Mr. Gwynne, "a gentleman of known zeal for His Majesty and his Royal Family, and of very considerable property in the county of Radnor, will be the most proper person to be candidate upon the present vacancy".[1]

"My Lord Powis and the gentlemen your Grace mentions in your letter, by residing in that part of the country, must know Mr. Howell Gwynne much better than myself," wrote Lord Carnarvon on February 9, in reply to Newcastle's request that he should support Gwynne; but he declared himself bound by a previous promise.

> . . . When I offered myself a candidate for that county, Mr. Howell Gwynne opposed me very strongly; when Lord Oxford gave me his interest, and thro' his means I got the better of his opposition, and upon declining the county of Radnor, to offer myself for Winchester [1754] I promised then, my interest in the county to Lord Oxford's friend at the next vacancy. By this your Grace will see, it is not in my power this time to assist your Grace's nomination, but at another election, your Grace may command.[2]

However, Lord Oxford's candidate, Sir Richard Chase, declined "standing the poll",[3] and Howell Gwynne was returned unopposed; and only £173 of secret service money were required for the election, "a moderate expense in an affair of so great consequence to the Whig interest in the county of Radnor".[4]

[1] Add. MSS. 32852, f. 404.

[2] *Ibid.* f. 404; for other correspondence relating to this election see Add. MSS. 32853: Thomas Johnes to Lord Powis, February 14, 1755 (f. 460); H. Gwynne to the Duke of Newcastle, February 15 (f. 483); Lord Powis to the Duke of Newcastle, February 18 (f. 536); Thomas Villiers to the Duke of Newcastle, February 22 (f. 581).

[3] Thomas Villiers to the Duke of Newcastle, March 10, 1755; Add. MSS. 32853, f. 170.

[4] George Rice to the Duke of Newcastle, March 15, 1755; Add. MSS. 32853, f. 301. In the secret service accounts the sum appears under date of April 16, 1755.

Although the promise to Lord Oxford, a prominent Tory, shows that Carnarvon was ready to deal with either side, at this time Newcastle seems to have considered him a friend,[1] and Carnarvon tried to regain the Government favours enjoyed by his grandfather, the first Duke of Chandos, but forfeited by his father, who, as first Gentleman of the Bedchamber to the Prince of Wales, was " unfortunately oblig'd to obey the late Prince's commands ", though previously he had " always voted with the Administration ".

> That the late Duke, your petitioner's grandfather, [wrote Carnarvon to the King][2] from the time of the accession of the Crown to your Royal and Illustrious House, had spent sixty thousand pounds in elections ; and never brought in a person who gave a vote against the Ministry ; and when he had impair'd his estate by this, and his generosity to mankind, etc., Your Majesty was graciously pleased to give him a pension ; nevertheless he died considerably in debt. . . .

Carnarvon now asked for " a mark of favour " for his father —obviously a renewal of the pension.[3] And when in June 1755 a vacancy seemed imminent in the Lord Lieutenancy of Radnorshire, Carnarvon wrote to Newcastle :

> I may venture to say, I have as large property in that county as any one man, in consideration of which His Majesty was pleas'd formerly to confer it on my grandfather. This office would greatly strengthen my interest in the county, and I flatter myself, your Grace knows my attachments too well, to think me capable of making a bad use of the power lodged in my hands. . . .[4]

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[1] He was, *e.g.*, sent for during the critical divisions over the St. Michael election ; see Add. MSS. 32853, f. 313.

[2] Add. MSS. 33055, f. 88 ; undated ; presented about 1754.

[3] The Duke of Chandos renewed the request for the pension on February 19, 1761, applying for it direct to Newcastle ; in this letter he deplored the " shyness " which for some time past had arisen between them, and of which he professed not to know the cause, " as I am an entire stranger to my son's affairs " (Add. MSS. 32919, f. 108).

[4] Add. MSS. 32856, f. 571.

Gwynne meantime faithfully discharged his duties in Parliament.

> Your Grace was pleasd to tell me, [wrote Powis to Newcastle on December 15, 1755] that I must take care of Mr. Howell Gwynne, who serves for the county of Radnor.—And I have the pleasure to assure your Grace that his conduct in Parliament has hitherto been agreeable to your wishes.—I am under a necessity now of putting him into your Grace's hands, recommending to your Grace in my turn, that *you will take care of him.* . . .

Gwynne wished his brother to be made Customer of the Port of Milford [1]—" on easier terms, your Grace could scarce desire it: and it will oblige him ", was Powis's comment. " What your Grace thinks proper to trust to my management, I venture to give my opinion upon. . . ." [2]

Carnarvon's conduct was less steady; on November 13, 1755, in the division on support for Hanover, he voted with the Tories against the Government,[3] which must undoubtedly have offended George II. When, on December 23, he, none the less, repeated his application for the Lord Lieutenancy of Radnor, now actually vacant, Newcastle replied:

> Mr. Gwynne, who is chose for the county, was so strongly recommended to the King by the gentlemen who are friends to the Government in that county; and it was represented to be so much for His Majesty's service to have the Lord Lieutenant residing there, that His Majesty did think proper to appoint him.[4]

This produced a breach between Carnarvon and Newcastle and a renewal of his feud with Gwynne:

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[1] Add. MSS. 32861, ff. 316-17.

[2] *Ibid.* ff. 312-13. Powis has dated the letter " Monday November 15th, 1755 ", but it is docketed " December 15 ", which was a Monday.

[3] See letter from James West to the Duke of Newcastle; Add. MSS. 32860, ff. 471-2.

[4] December 27, 1755; Add. MSS. 32861, f. 481.

If it is more for his Majesty's honour and service, to have Mr. Gwynne at the head of that county than myself: I am very well content: but I may be able in a future election to shew that that gentleman is not unanimously supported by the gentlemen of the county; any more than the gentleman who now serves for the borough of Radnor [Thomas Lewis].

I will make no apology for troubling your Grace with this second letter; but will promise that your Grace shall never be troubled with any other application from etc. . . .[1]

In November 1759, on a vacancy in the representation of Hampshire, Carnarvon, whose father owned considerable estates in the county, proposed Simeon Stuart in opposition to Legge, Newcastle's candidate, and secured for him the support of Lord Bute and Leicester House.[2] Nevertheless, Stuart had to give up the contest, but the aftermath was to prove fatal to Legge, who on this occasion incurred the displeasure, indeed the hatred, of the Prince of Wales and Lord Bute.[3] Carnarvon remained with Leicester House, and, like all those who joined it because of some real or imaginary grievance against Newcastle, did his best to set the Prince and Bute against him.

Only about a month before the death of George II, the two young men with election grievances, Lord Carnarvon and Lord Pulteney, neither more than thirty years old, arranged a display of Leicester House manners towards the aged King—presumably their insolence at St. James's counted as merit with the expectant heir. Newcastle wrote to Hardwicke on September 23, 1760:

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[1] Lord Carnarvon to the Duke of Newcastle, January 1, 1756; Add. MSS. 32862, f. 3.

[2] For Carnarvon's letter to Bute, November 3, 1759, see "Register of Correspondence of the Earl of Bute, 1739–62"; Add. MSS. 36796, f. 43.

[3] For the correspondence which arose over this election see *Some Account of the Character of the late Rt. Hon. Henry Bilson Legge* (1764). The pamphlet was by Dr. John Butler, Bishop of Oxford (1777–88) and of Hereford (1788–1802).

Yesterday my Lord Carnarvon surprised His Majesty by coming to kiss His Majesty's hand for Lord of the Bedchamber to the Prince of Wales, without the King's knowing one word of it; and I hear my Lord Pulteney is to do so in a few days. Sure common civility required some previous notice; but the King seem'd very indifferent about it.[1]

And on October 3:

Lord Pulteney has kissed hands, for the other Lord of the Bedchamber, without any previous notice.[2]

Lord Bath, Lord Powis, and Shrewsbury

Some time in June 1759 Lord Bath addressed the following letter to Robert More, M.P. for Shrewsbury:

I doubt not but you remember the letters you wrote to me, when you desired my interest for the town of Shrewsbury, and therefore I do not question but you will readily give your assistance to my son, whom I have declared, shall be a candidate at the next election. It is true, it will be a considerable time, before a new Parliament. But some people having mentioned Mr. Clive, without his knowledge or authority, as I am informed, makes it necessary for me, to apply thus early to you, as well as to the rest of my friends; Mr. Clive is a very worthy man, as well as a very dangerous antagonist, but yet I must support my son, because I think I am at the same time doing my duty to the Bradford interest, which he will in time (by being the possessor of their property)[3] represent; and

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[1] Add. MSS. 32912, f. 47. [2] *Ibid.* f. 327.

[3] These estates comprised the castle of Shrewsbury, the hundreds of Bradford North and Bradford South, and of Condover, and fourteen manors in Shropshire, and in 1805 produced a rental of about £45,000 per annum. Henry, 3rd Earl of Bradford, by his will, dated May 8, 1730, "devised the said property to the use of John Newport, Esq., then called John Harrison (who by act of parliament assumed the surname of Newport only) and his heirs in tail male. This John Newport afterwards became a lunatic and continued so until his death . . . in 1783" (*Antiquities of Shropshire*, by Edward Lloyd, revised by T. F. Dukes, Shrewsbury, 1844, p. 243). John Harrison was a natural son of Lord Bradford by Mrs. Ann Smith,

therefore should apprehend, it may be injudicious in those, who may mean the same thing, to create divisions in the county by opposing him. Your vote and interest for my son, will greatly oblige, Sir, etc.

Robert More replied from Linley, Shropshire, on June 19 :

I did not receive the honour of your Lordship's letter, till since the return of the last post, having been at my house at Linley near Bishop's Castle.—As the civil and religious liberties have been driven to a party for their support in the Parliament of 1641, when the great conflict began (and when the Newport family supplied the TYRANT with money for a title) [1] my ancestor, a Member, then had and all his posterity to this day have, uniformly and very zealously attached themselves to that party in the cause of liberty ; with them I have always voted in elections and will vote,—with them I live and dye ; they chose me into the present Parliament without any interest of my own, without sollicitation,without influence of Minister of State or Lord, indeed, I believe, they chose the meanest among themselves to show their contempt for the influence of the greatest, and one least capable of corrupting to show how much they scorned corruption.

I have declared my inability to continue in the station I am in ; but have had no hand in proposing Colonel Clive ; and that your Lordship's proposal may be acceptable to the town, will give you the most friendly advise. It is that in your applications you should not mention your own interest, or any family's except the King's, but make to them those noble professions of disinterested patriotism, which I've heard from you when a Commoner, and particularly when we carried by one vote the Bill against Bribery. If this fails, there is a borough hard by which chose the Earl of Bradford [2] (I do not recollect that Shrewsbury ever did this), has lately chosen a

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and after his death, " there being no direct heir ", the estates passed " partly to the Crown and partly to the representatives of his mother [the heirs of Lord Bath], she having disposed of the reversion during her lifetime . . ." (H. E. Forrest, " Some Old Shropshire Houses and their Owners ", *Transactions of the Shropshire Archaeological Society*, 4th series, vol. vii. part ii., 1920, p. 139).

[1] Newport in 1642 paid Charles I £6000 for being created a baron. See Clarendon, *The History of the Rebellion*, Bk. vi. § 66.

[2] Bishop's Castle.

Granville,[1] and would rejoyce to see any one backed by your Lordship pitted there with Colonel Clive.[2]

About the same time Lord Bath turned to John Bennett, Mayor of Shrewsbury, who, on June 27, 1759, replied that a member of the Corporation had written from London, recommending Colonel Clive to succeed Mr. More,

> and signifying that Lord Powis, our Recorder, approved of him ;— this letter I immediately communicated to severall gentlemen, who met and consulted together on the subject of it, and the Colonel being of a family of great antiquity and meritt amongst us, and having so remarkably distinguished himself in the service of his country, was agreed by all to be a proper candidate. Mr. Hill allways since we chose him has served us very worthily. . . .

They therefore intended to re-elect him. Subsequently they received letters from Colonel Clive's father recommending his son and Lord Bath's letter to Mr. Bolas putting up Lord Pulteney. It was then proposed in the Corporation that, as all three candidates were " unexceptionable ", they should be asked to confer and agree together " which two of the three should stand ". But in the course of the debate, some " shewing a zeal (a little too warm) for their respective friends . . . caused the opinion of the House to be taken as to their own choice ". This being done, Colonel Clive obtained a considerable majority, and it was decided that he should stand in conjunction with Mr. Hill.

[1] Henry Grenville; see p. 306.

[2] Copies of these letters are in the Bodleian, at Oxford, among the papers of Henry Bowdler, a Shrewsbury attorney (MS. Top. Salop. c. 3, f. 100). I am not aware of their having ever been published, but copies were probably circulated; they seem to have been well known in Shropshire, and it is undoubtedly to these letters that Blakeway alludes when writing about More: " His correspondence with a celebrated orator of the last age is said to have been extremely characteristic, and proves that his talents would have shone conspicuously on the stage of the great world; but he cultivated retirement . . ." (*The Sheriffs of Shropshire*, p. 221).

At the same time I can venture to assure your Lordship, the Corporation retains the greatest respect and regard for you and Lord Pulteney, and would gladly have accepted your Lordship's offer could they by any means have done it with honour and a sure prospect of success.[1]

Lord Bath replied on June 30 criticising the " hasty resolution which a majority of the Corporation meeting hath come to so long before the next election ", and expostulating that, though he had not taken any active steps on behalf of Lord Pulteney so far in advance, his intention to put him up for the borough had been known. He tried to discover whether Colonel Clive himself had come forward as candidate, or whether the idea had been suggested by Lord Powis, and next broke out into virtuous indignation, waxing enthusiastic over the rights and privileges of the town :

. . . to suffer Lord Powis to pretend to have a right of nominating to you who shall be your Member, is what I never can submitt to, nor can I think his having obtained, in a precipitate and hasty manner, about 23 of the Corporation which consists of upwards of 70, is sufficient to carry an election, where there are 400 votes. No ; I would have it understood by all the burgesses and inhabitants, that I am determined to support their rights and priviledges against this arbitrary nomination of any one at the pleasure of any one man's ; nor will I suffer the voters of so considerable a town as Shrewsbury, to be transferred at the pleasure of any lord, like a poor Cornish borough, that he might vainly flatter himself was his own property.

Lastly, whilst acknowledging Clive's great services, Bath tried to suggest that the attempt to put him up as candidate was untimely " just after his accepting the Government of Bengal which makes his return to England very uncertain ". He concluded :

I should be very sorry to be the means of destroying the harmony of the town ; or of introducing divisions amongst you ; but you see,

[1] Add. MSS. 32892, f. 333.

Sir, it is they who thus attacked me, who have begun. Had my son been suffered to come in quietly on Mr. More's resignation, it would have been a much greater honour for him, to have had the unanimous suffrages of so respectable a borough.[1]

The next move on the part of Bath was to apply to the Duke of Newcastle, complaining of Lord Powis having put up Clive in opposition to his son :

All I can say is, that it is extremely hard, when I desire no favours from the Court, that those who are supposed to have the direction of the interest of the Court, should be sufferd to oppress me : I imagine Mr. Clive, from what happend lately in Parliament, will not be any warm friend to your Grace's. . . .

I must beg leave to assure you, that if I do not meet with protection against Lord Powis in this affair, I shall resent it with that warmth that will become me on the occasion, and never be easy whilst he remains in the Lieutenancy of that county, which he never could pretend to, til the Bradford family failed, by the management of whose interest, he first made himself considerable in Shropshire, and whose property and the power attending it, being all to center in my son, give me the best claim to that honour which his Lordship hath so long enjoyd, and to which he hath so little pretence, from any considerable share of his own possessions in that county.[2]

The threat about the resentment and the Lieutenancy of Shropshire should be noted ; this was to result in one of the ominous incidents noted at the beginning of this essay.

Newcastle replied, he had been told by Lord Powis only a few days ago that Mr. More declined re-election, and that it was intended to set up Colonel Clive in his room. But then he did not know anything about Lord Bath's intentions, and as he had no interest there himself, and the Government very little, he made no objection to Powis's suggestion. Now, however, he will try to prevent a dispute between Powis and Bath and will " offer to find out some other place for Colonel Clive ; which, I should hope, might make things easy. . . ." [3]

[1] Add. MSS. 32892, f. 332. [2] *Ibid.* f. 272. [3] *Ibid.* f. 274.

Indeed, three letters which passed between Powis and Newcastle the next day [1] testify to the Duke's endeavours to bring about a compromise, though its terms do not appear in them. Meantime Bath, on June 29, addressed another letter to Newcastle, full of abuse of the "little, busy, warm medlers" and of "this little mortal" Powis, who should be hindered from using the interest "he derives from His Majesty from oppressing me; as for his own interest and power in Shropshire, I despise it"; of Clive, "a *nabob* worth half a million", etc.[2]

Most extraordinary of all was the next move on the part of Lord Bath, one of the richest men and most notorious misers of the age, who at his death in 1764 is said to have left £1,200,000 in "land and money", but practically no legacies. On July 20, 1759, his son, Lord Pulteney (M.P. for Old Sarum) went to Pitt and offered to raise at his own expense a regiment of one thousand men for service in the war.[3] "His Majesty approved it cordially",[4] and gave the regiment the name of Royal Volunteers. Its head-quarters were fixed at Shrewsbury, and certain officers were selected for it whose recruiting (and presumably also electioneering) influence in Shropshire could be made

[1] *Ibid.* ff. 314, 318, and 320.

[2] *Ibid.* f. 316.

[3] See John Calcraft's letter-books, vol. ii., Add. MSS. 17494, f. 136.

[4] *Ibid.* f. 133. The transaction with the King is reported at length in a letter written to Lord Bath by John Douglas, his chaplain, at Lord Pulteney's request (Eg. 2186, ff. 154-5); it is marked merely "Saturday afternoon", but was obviously written on July 21, 1759. It had originally been intended to make Lord Pulteney colonel of the regiment, but the King, whilst highly approving of the scheme, "said, if it proceeded from a right and disinterested motive, this would not be insisted upon, and the second command satisfy his Lordship . . ." Lord Pulteney is ready to accept this—he "believes the more disinterested a part he acts, the more honour and credit he will acquire, which is his chief object"; and he proposes to "lose no time in setting out for Shrewsbury; where he will arrive with some éclat, if he can carry a few blank commissions to be filled up with the names of persons, whom his friends there may recommend to him . . ."

serviceable to the regiment (and Lord Pulteney). John Calcraft, Henry Fox's right-hand man, was made agent to the regiment,[1] Lord Pulteney was its Lieutenant-Colonel, and John Craufurd,[2] brother of Patrick, a favourite of Lord Bute's, was its Colonel ; the list of officers [3] included Lord Brome, M.P. (subsequently 2nd Earl Cornwallis), Lord Warkworth, Edmund Nugent, M.P., the son and heir of the famous political wirepuller, Robert Nugent, M.P., Charles Cooper, the natural son of Henry Fox, William Forester, son of Brooke Forester, M.P., Peter Bathurst, Temple West, " Mr. Pitt's kinsman ",[4] etc. It was to be one of the most fashionable regiments in the British Army.[5] The Prince of Wales was asked to stand godfather to it (his acceptance was signified in a letter to Lord Bute, dated July 24, 1759).[6] Indeed, the most was made of the " patriotic " offer. Newcastle explained to Powis : " His Lordship [Lord Bath] has absolutely refused to put the Government to any expence for levy money, but

[1] Add. MSS. 17494, ff. 136-7.

[2] Mrs. Toynbee, in her edition of Horace Walpole's letters, vol. iv. p. 284, suggests that this John Craufurd was identical with John Walkinshaw Craufurd, of Craufurdland. The suggestion is unfounded. This was John Craufurd, son of Patrick Craufurd, and, through his mother, grandson of Archibald Craufurd of Auchenames. He was M.P. for Berwick from 1761 till his death in 1764.

[3] Add. MSS. 17494, f. 141. In " A List of Officers belonging to the Royal Volunteers ", sent by Calcraft to Sir Jeffery Amherst, Commander-in-Chief in North America, it is stated that four of the captains, St. J. Jeffreys, T. West, C. Egerton, and W. Forester, were to " pay their own levy money " (R.O., W.O., 34/99, f. 33).

[4] Add MSS. 17494, f. 140.

[5] When it started for Portugal, *The London Chronicle* of November 25-27, 1760, published the following " Extract of a letter from Portsmouth, November 25 " :

> It is remarkable that in the Royal Volunteers, commanded by Brigadier Craufurd, who are going and now on board for the expedition, there are two lords, one baronet, three Members of Parliament ; and officers whose landed estates are to the amount of 180,000*l.* per ann.

[6] Bute MSS.

takes *that* wholly upon himself, which is a very heavy article ".[1] It is true, when it came to disbursing money, his Lordship's patriotic zeal was not quite equal to the occasion.

> The connection with Lord Bath is an unpleasant one [wrote Calcraft to Craufurd on August 28]; . . . a certain sum from Lord Bath, if it could be got, would be best, but I don't think it will. . . .[2]

For the time being, the only money they saw was £1000 given by General Pulteney (Bath's brother) to his nephew " to fit himself out ", but not to be used for levy money.

When, a year later, the accounts had to be settled, Lord Bath would have nothing to do with them. Calcraft wrote to Captain Bathurst on August 10, 1760 :

> There is curious doings about the levy money of the Royal Volunteers. Lord Bath has taken to his bed at sight of the account and says he is too ill to enter upon such business, that he will have nothing more to do with the Regiment, and Crawfurd and his son may pay it out of their profits.[3]

He returned the letter which Calcraft wrote him, " and absolutely forbid further correspondence on the subject ".[4] In the end he had to foot the bill, but in doing so deducted £1000, his brother's present to Lord Pulteney.[5] But in July 1759 Newcastle was still congratulating Bath on his " generous and most uncommon zeal ".[6]

On July 28, 1759, Powis reported to Newcastle that Lord Bath's letter to the Mayor of Shrewsbury had " raised

[1] Add. MSS. 32893, ff. 436-7.
[2] Add. MSS. 17494, ff. 166-7.
[3] Add. MSS. 17495, f. 88.
[4] *Ibid.* f. 105, and also f. 94.
[5] *Ibid.* f. 154. Mrs. Stirling, in her book on *The Hothams*, vol. ii. p. 69, puts the sum Lord Bath had to pay at £5000, but she does not name her authority for the statement; possibly she repeats merely Horace Walpole's estimate (see his letter to H. Mann, August 1, 1759; Mrs. Toynbee's edition, vol. iv. p. 284).
[6] July 27, 1759; Add. MSS. 32893, f. 321.

a spirit among the old Whigs in Shropshire" to exert themselves in Powis's favour, "and has given offence to all people". And he proceeded to quote the following example, characteristic of eighteenth-century methods and ideas:

> As to Sir Richard Corbet and his brother, they (as relations) will each of them give one vote to Lord Pulteney and one to Mr. Hill:— but all the interest they can make, will by them be firmly secur'd to Mr. Hill and Mr. Clive.

Newcastle, now that the Prince of Wales was dragged into the matter, on August 1 explained his position at great length to Andrew Stone, who had been his secretary and the Prince's tutor, blaming both Powis and Bath for the line they had taken. "I have endeavour'd to frighten him [Powis] with the P. of Wales, etc. and have constantly told him that I could not oppose my Lord Bath." Lord Powis complained of the way in which he had been treated, but was prepared to let Lord Pulteney be chosen, provided Newcastle arranged matters with Mr. Hill; whom the Duke proposed to have returned in some other place or made an Irish peer, or both. Newcastle's position was very difficult, as the Whigs, to a man, were opposed to Pulteney, and he was not prepared to break with Powis and "the Shropshire Whigs, which is a most steddy, valuable corps"; still, he wished also to help Bath and Pulteney.[1] The next day he wrote to Powis expressing his concern for all parties in the dispute. It was not an easy thing to fight against such wealth as that of Lord Bath, "which upon this occasion he will not fail to employ"; and moreover the "other assistance which Lord Pulteney will not fail of having". He then proceeded to expatiate on the offer of the regiment, in view of which no opposition must be given to him by any one "immediately in the King's service". The regiment, suggested Newcastle,

[1] Add. MSS. 32893, ff. 410-11.

might be " a good handle " for putting " an honourable end to the opposition ".[1]

Stone replied that Lord Bath understood

that your Grace neither can, nor will, nor ought, to give up the Whigs at Shrewsbury, or any where else ; and should himself be sorry to be too much obliged by the Tories ; but they say, they can carry the election for Lord Pulteney ; and that is what must be done if possible. . . . He shew'd me a letter he received this day from Dr. Douglas, who is now at Shrewsbury with Lord Pulteney, who entertained the town on the occasion of the victory in Germany, and meets with great encouragement ; though they seem sensible that the Corporation are (very near, if not to a man) unanimous in the interest of their antagonist.[2]

On September 12, 1759, Henry Bowdler, a Shrewsbury attorney whom Douglas had left in charge of Lord Pulteney and his affairs, wrote to Douglas :

I have the pleasure to inform you that Lord Pulteney is in perfect health and that he gains ground in the esteem of the town people. But tho' this is what may be reasonably expected from his Lordship's good sense and behaviour, that only must not be relyed on in the affairs of electioneering.

His antagonists, you know, have appointed agents here (viz. Oliver, Cross, Devereux etc.) with discretionary power to act for them in strengthening their interest, and it will in my opinion be necessary for Lord Bath to have some friends among us arm'd with like power to act for his interest. Though we are not by any means a mercenary people, but on the contrary have always shew'd our contempt of venality, yet there are among the lower class several burgesses who will have their interest in veiw at the same time that they go along with their party or serve their friend, and even at present, tho' so long before the expected time of an election, there are necessary things to be done which will require management and some

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[1] *Ibid.* ff. 436-7. Douglas wrote to Lord Bath on July 14, 1759 : " If after what your Lordship has so generously done towards assisting his Majesty's service, an opposition should still be carry'd on by Lord Powis, it will be shameful " (Eg. 2186, f. 157).

[2] August 15, 1759 ; Add. MSS. 32894, ff. 199-205.

expense. For instance—by the last resolution of the House of Commons the right of voting here is fixt in the burgesses inhabiting in Shrewsbury [who] pay scot and lot; the same resolution fixes what parts of the town were the antient borough and what not—all the Abbey Foregate to the middle of the stone bridge, part of Coleham and all Cotton Hill are not in the voting part of the town. There are many burgesses live in these excluded parts who would be glad to serve Lord Pulteney. It may be necessary therefore as well as practicable, to bring some of these people into the voting part of the town.

There are likewise some burgesses who do not live in their own parishes but belong to other parishes in town, those not being assest for fear of making them settlement, will not be entitled to vote. But it may be so managed as they may be situated in their own parishes, where they must be assest and entitled to vote. . . .[1]

Meantime the negotiations for a compromise, carried on by Newcastle with Powis, dragged on their weary course; on October 3, 1759, Powis formulated the following terms, which, he insisted, should be put forward by Newcastle as his own,[2] as they had not the concurrence of the Corporation of Shrewsbury:

That Lord Pulteney will stand on the Whig interest for that borough, with the consent and approbation of the Corporation—joyntly with one of the candidates nominated by them; in case the other should be prevailed upon to desist: and that Lord Pulteney will engage to assist and support the Corporation interest, not only upon any future vacancy, but also upon any event which may happen to prevent him from being a candidate.[3]

No agreement was reached, and in December 1759 Lord Bath was instrumental in the publication of the famous pamphlet *A Letter to Two Great Men*, written by John Douglas under his direction. Newcastle heard that it was by Lord Bath himself and was "much in the stile that my Lord Bath talked to your Lordship [Hardwicke] upon

[1] Bodleian, MS. Top. Salop. c. 3, f. 94.

[2] See his subsequent letters of October 4, Add. MSS. 32896, f. 272, and October 7, *ibid.* f. 336.

[3] *Ibid.* f. 252.

the subject of peace ". He asked Hardwicke to read it and let him know his thoughts about it.[1] Hardwicke feared that it was " of pernicious effect ". " It is so writ as to be readily swallowed by the people and to create difficulties to the Administration in the terms of peace " ; and it is like Lord Bath's " former manner of debating in the House of Commons ; haranging with spirit upon his own topicks, without stating, or attempting to answer, manifest objections ".[2]

Further negotiations for a compromise, in the spring and summer of 1760, availed nothing, and in July Clive's return from India settled the question. On August 31, Powis reported that things at Shrewsbury stood " on the part of Mr. Hill and Colonel Clive as well as their own hearts can desire ",[3] and on September 25, that Lord Bath had given up " his point ". " After the arrival of Colonel Clive from the East Indies, Lord Pulteney had really no chance of success ".[4] Lord Bath observed that " it was in vain to contend with the power of the Corporation and the wealth of the Indies " ; another circumstance which made him desist, wrote Powis on October 17, was " the little encouragement he met with from the Tories ", who did not wish, by opposing the Whigs at Shrewsbury, to provoke retaliatory measures on their part in the county.

It is extreamly remarkable, that at the late races, that were given at Shrewsbury by Mr. Hill and Coll. Clive (some days before Lord Bath's letters appear'd there, as above), the Tories attended with great civility and good humour ;—a compliment to us, on their part, never before known in Shropshire ; where an election was depending ![5]

Powis rejoiced—eight days before the accession of George III was to give Bath his chance to settle accounts

[1] December 24, 1759 ; Add. MSS. 32900, f. 276.
[2] December 27, 1759 ; *ibid.* ff. 355-6.
[3] Add. MSS. 32910, f. 450.
[4] Add. MSS. 32912, ff. 106-7.
[5] Add. MSS. 32913, f. 171.

between them. Colonel Clive and Mr. Hill were, however, returned without opposition on March 27, 1761, whilst Lord Pulteney was elected for Westminster in his absence, for he had started with the Royal Volunteers on the expedition to Portugal from which he was never to return ; on his way home he died of a fever at Madrid, on February 12, 1763.

Radnorshire at the General Election of 1761

On the accession of George III Lord Carnarvon proceeded with his threatened opposition to Gwynne, knowing that the influence of the Court would now be exerted in his own favour. He wrote to Lord Bute on November 22:

> I caught the Duke of Newcastle yesterday before he had left St. James's. I acquainted him that His Majesty had given me leave to offer myself as a candidate for the county of Radnor, and had permitted me to acquaint his Grace therewith and to beg his countenance and assistance. The Duke told me that Lord Bateman, Mr. Rice, and Mr. Gwynne had been with him that morning,[1] and . . . they assured him, that the county was engaged in favour of Mr. Gwynne, and that I cou'd not possibly have any chance to be chose. . . . I told his Grace . . . that Mr. Gwynne must have a very extraordinary opinion of me, to imagine that I shou'd give up my pretensions to the county, on his assuring me that I cou'd not carry my point.

Newcastle next inquired of Carnarvon "what interest the Government had in that county", and finally remarked

> that as he had supported Mr. Gwynne at the former election, he did not know what to say to it, but desired I wou'd press him no further 'til he had seen them [his Radnorshire friends] again. This my Lord was my answer, and such a one that I fear leaves me little room to hope for his Graces assistance.[2]

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[1] About that conference see Newcastle's minute dated November 21, 1760; Add. MSS. 32999, f. 96.

[2] See *The Correspondence of King George III*, edited by Sir John Fortescue, vol. i. pp. 6-7.

On November 26 Carnarvon wrote to Newcastle :

When I had the honour of talking with your Grace on Fryday last [November 21] . . . your Grace seemed persuaded . . . that I cou'd have no chance of being chose for that county, even if supported by your Grace, Mr. Gwynne having secured a large majority. I must therefore beg leave to inform your Grace that letters I recieved from Lord Oxford and other friends of mine in that quarter, by yesterdays post, give me the strongest assurances of success, so much that I have very few apprehensions from Mr. Gwynne. Under these circumstances, my Lord, I repeat the request I made to your Grace last Fryday (by His Majesty's permission) and flatter myself your determination will be in my favour. . . .[1]

" I hope to settle things to your Lordship's satisfaction, and . . . I think you may venture to declare . . . ", wrote Lord Oxford to Carnarvon on November 15 ; and the next day, that Gwynne had set out for London, presumably with a view to securing a sheriff, which should be prevented.[2] These two letters Carnarvon forwarded to Bute, adding, with a delicacy which was perhaps prompted by the prospect of replacing Gwynne as Lord Lieutenant :

. . . if . . . it shou'd be customary for the Lord Lieutenant to recommend, I am very far from even wishing to alter the common course of any business for any private interest of my own, particularly as (however Mr. Gwynne's interest and mine may clash in the county) I believe he is perfectly well attach'd to His Majesty and his Familly.[3]

Meantime George Rice, having failed to dissuade Carnarvon from standing, and seeing the Court influence exerted on his side, guessed the line Newcastle would take ;

[1] Add. MSS. 32915, f. 90. [2] Bute MSS.

[3] Bute MSS. This letter is undated except "Wednesday evening ". November 19 might have seemed the most likely Wednesday for Lord Oxford's letters to reach Lord Carnarvon, but as in the letter to the Duke of Newcastle, on Wednesday, November 26, he states that he received them " by yesterday's post ", probably the letter to Lord Bute was written on the same Wednesday—unless there was an amount of finessing which one cannot assume without positive evidence.

he assured the Duke, on November 26, that he would "endeavour to satisfy Mr. Gwynne, should his Grace take a part in favour of Lord Carnarvon, that it is not from want of regard to Mr. Gwynne".[1] Indeed, on November 28, Newcastle promised Carnarvon "to do all he cou'd" for him in Radnorshire; but Powis remained obdurate—"he looks upon Mr. Gwynne as his nomination", wrote Carnarvon to Bute on November 30, "and will support him to the utmost of his power".

However, if the Duke of Newcastle is in earnest, and will prevail with Mr. Lewis, the Bp. of St. David's and Coll. Hodges to give me their assistance, Ld. Powys can do me very little hurt. . . .

Mr. Lewis is Steward of the King's Lordships of Cantimellioneth in Radnorshire, and entirely under the direction of the Duke; Mr. Lewis from his office can influence many freeholders. . . .

Mr. Gwynne went back to day for Radnorshire with a thorough resolution of standing.[2]

On December 2 Carnarvon reported progress to Bute:

Lord Oxford is arrived and brings accounts from Radnorshire very pleasing: he has secured the whole Hundred of Payns Castle for me, which consists of 200 votes, besides most of the gentlemen in the other hundreds of the county. If I can secure Mr. Lewis, and the sheriff, Mr. Gwynne can have no chance.[3]

And on December 10 Carnarvon wrote to Newcastle:

I must beg of your Grace to speak to Mr. Lewis (who *must* go as you bid him) . . . besides . . . it is his interest to go with me while espoused by your Grace, for there is a man (and a very rich

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[1] Add. MSS. 32915, f. 92. [2] Bute MSS.

[3] Bute MSS.—The letter is undated except "Tuesday morning", but it mentions two letters "received from Hampshire last night", which are probably the letters from Thomas Worsley (November 27) and from Simeon Stuart (November 30), extant among the Bute MSS.; this letter was therefore probably written on Tuesday, December 2. Moreover, in the letter of November 30 Carnarvon wrote: "I expect Lord Oxford in town this evening", and this letter starts: "Lord Oxford is arrived. . . ."

one) ready to give him much trouble in his borough,[1] and I should be sorry to be drove to avail myself of that means of preventing Mr. Lewis hurting me. . . .[2]

The same day, in a letter to Bute, Carnarvon expressed the fear that Newcastle was playing double with regard to the Radnorshire election, and that he could not be trusted.[3] But in reality the Duke of Newcastle was honestly trying to settle things to the satisfaction of both sides.[4] Mr. Gwynne was sent for,[5] and on December 18 the following minute was drawn up at Newcastle House by Lord Powis, Howell Gwynne, and Thomas Lewis :

If Mr. Gwynne can be brought into Parliament without expence at some other place, and my Lord Carnarvon and his friends will give no opposition to Mr. Lewis for the town of Radnor, and the Lieutenantcy and Custos Rotulorum shall remain in Mr. Gwynne's hands ; and Mr. Lewis continues steward of the King's Courts, Mr. Gwynne is ready (with the approbation of his friends which is not at all doubted) to desist for this election and give his interest and that of his friends to the Marquis of Carnarvon ; by which his Lordship will come in for the county of Radnor without any opposition.[6]

" . . . the election in Wales for my Lord Carnarvon. . . I have accommodated for him if he pleases ", wrote the Duke of Newcastle next day to the Duke of Devonshire ; [7]

[1] Edward Lewis, a London merchant, no relation to Thomas Lewis ; he was a Tory and Lord Oxford's candidate.

[2] Add. MSS. 32915, f. 382.

[3] The letter was not among the Bute MSS. which I have seen, but a summary of it appears in the " Register ", Add. MSS. 36796, f. 59.

[4] In Newcastle's " Memorandums " of December 3 appears the entry : " Ld. Carnarvon—Radnorshire election. Endeavour to get Mr. Gwyn to decline it by chusing him elsewhere " (Add. MSS. 32999, f. 108) ; on December 5 : " Radnorshire election. To try to accomodate it . . ." (Add. MSS. 32915, f. 315).

[5] See letter from Lord Bateman to the Duke of Newcastle, December 14, 1760 ; Add. MSS. 32916, f. 251.

[6] Add. MSS. 32918, f. 200 ; another copy in Add. MSS. 32999, f. 127.

[7] Add. MSS. 32916, ff. 207-13.

and Gwynne started out for Radnorshire "in order to engage his friends in the compromise with Lord Carnarvon. . . ." [1] The work of securing the county representation for Lord Carnarvon, initiated by Lord Oxford and the Tories, was thus to be completed by Howell Gwynne, under sanction from the Whig leaders; for no real political principles were involved in these personal reshufflings at the accession of George III; they were conceived only in later "literary afterthoughts" of the Opposition Whigs. Nor was there much feeling about it even among the local Whig team—witness the following note of December 25:

> Lord Bateman presents his compliments to Lord Bute. He has the pleasure to inform his Lordship that Mr. Gwynne has by express sent an account this morning that he has had a meeting of the principal gentlemen of the county of Radnor and that they agree to his declining on the terms offered by the Duke of Newcastle to Mr. Gwynne.[2]

A fuller account of the meeting was sent to Carnarvon by Powis in a letter dated December 27; he reminded Carnarvon of the promise which he had authorised him to give to Gwynne of a seat in the next Parliament, which assurance had been confirmed by Newcastle:

> But Mr. Gwynne's friends, not caring to rest the certainty of his seat in Parliament, on the chance of his Grace's life or continuance at the head of the Ministry, require me to inform your Lordship 'that it is their unanimous opinion and advice to Mr. Gwynne, that your Lordship should now engage, to interpose (in either of the cases above mention'd) with his Grace's successor in power; and

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[1] Lord Powis to the Duke of Newcastle, December 22, 1760; Add. MSS. 32916, f. 67.

[2] This letter is in the Musgrave Papers; as Sir William Musgrave used these letters for his collection of autographs, he cut off the top of the letter and pasted it into another book, so that the first line, "Lord Bateman presents his compliments to", is in Add. MSS. 5726 B, f. 5; the rest in Add. MSS. 5726 C, f. 18.

secure to Mr. Gwynne in like manner, a seat in Parliament, without expense '.[1]

After this, for a month, there is nothing about Radnorshire either in George III's *Correspondence* or in any of the collections of manuscripts I have examined. But from letters written about the end of January,[2] it appears that the compromise had not been concluded, Carnarvon demanding the Lord Lieutenancy of Radnorshire and Gwynne refusing to give it up, wherein he was warmly supported by Lord Powis, himself similarly placed with regard to Shropshire. On February 2, Powis declared to Newcastle that no compromise was possible

> without Mr. Gwynne's continuance in the Lieutenantcy &c. . . . Giving up the Lieutenantcy &c. wou'd be giving up the power of the county out of his hands! His friends woud never forgive it! —were he disposd to do so![3]

Newcastle, in his embarrassment, advised Powis to try Bute, who, in turn, preferred to throw the burden on Newcastle:

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[1] Sir John Fortescue, *op. cit.*, vol. i. p. 11. The letter is marked by Sir John Fortescue "Lord Powis to [Lord Bute ?]"; still, it seems certain that it was to Lord Carnarvon, and not to Lord Bute. Had it been to Bute, intercession with the King rather than with Newcastle's possible successor would have been asked for. Further, the next paragraph in the letter deals with a present of £100 to be made to the Sheriff of Radnorshire, "which I fancy your Lordship will not dislike"; clearly Carnarvon, the candidate at the election, could be expected to make such a present, but not Bute. Lastly, Bute's note to Powis, dated January 29, 1761, and printed below, seems to indicate that there had been no previous direct dealings between them concerning the Radnorshire election.

[2] Under January 26, 1761, the following entry occurs in the "Register": "Lord Carnarvon to the Earl of Bute. Enclosing two letters from Lord Powis and soliciting advice thereon.—Lord Powis to Lord Carnarvon. As to election affairs for the borough of Radnor." (Add. MSS. 36796, f. 71.)

[3] Add. MSS. 32918, f. 196.

Lord Bute's compliments attend Lord Powis; the present situation of his family will not permit him to see his Lordship on business this week, but in relation to Lord Carnarvon, the Duke of Newcastle alone can speak to his Lordship, he having, as Lord Bute immagines, receiv'd His Majesty's directions originally upon that affair.[1]

On February 3 Carnarvon informed Bute that he had refused to accept the conditions,[2] and the next day he wrote to Newcastle,[3] asking him to secure Thomas Lewis's support.

If he will join me heartilly in the county, I will support him as strongly in his borough, and use my endeavours towards keeping every thing quiet there; but if he rejects my offer, I will take care to find him employment enough between this and the election—I know how strong an influence your Grace has over him. . .

Thomas Lewis, again, appealed to Newcastle in terms, not of parties and politics, but of seats and safety, no superfluous expense and "the peace of the county":

. . . my joining Mr. Gwyne must inevitably bring an opposition against me and throw both town and county in a flame and great confusion. As you are so good to bring in Mr. Gwyne elswhere, why then can't we be at peace? Your Grace can easily settle this, which is now come to a crisis.[4]

A further series of conferences between Newcastle, Bute, Powis, and Carnarvon produced no result; on February 20, 1760, Powis wrote to Bute:

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[1] January 29, 1761; Add. MSS. 32918, f. 198. Bute's father-in-law, Edward Wortley Montagu, sen., had died on January 22, and Lord Bute went into mourning and a decorous "confinement", especially strict with regard to people he did not find it convenient to see at that time. But on February 9 Powis wrote to Newcastle: "I have had a conference with Lord Bute about the Radnorshire compromise; and have something very material to mention to your Grace. . ." (Add. MSS. 32918, f. 382).

[2] "Register of Correspondence", Add. MSS. 36796, f. 73.

[3] Add. MSS. 32918, f. 259.

[4] February 15, 1761; 32919, f. 21.

I saw Lord Carnarvon this day at St. James's and after we had talk'd over the affair of Radnorshire . . . found this to be his final determination (viz^{t}.) " That his Lordship chose rather to give up the certainty of a seat in Parliament for that county, than his pretensions to the Lieutenancy and office of Custos Rotulorum ". I have nothing therefore to do further, than to leave Mr. Gwynne and Mr. Lewis at liberty to pursue their own measures, in respect to a contest.[1]

The same day Carnarvon reported to Bute :

According to your Lordship's directions, I waited upon the Duke of Newcastle and Lord Powys, to both of whom, I declared, the never having seen the minute, or understood by the verbal conversation I had with Lord Powis, that I was to preclude myself from an application for the Lieutenantcy etc., after the expiration of the six months.[2]

This morning Lord Powis came up to me at St. James's . . . he represented to me . . . the many difficulties that I must meet with, . . . concluding all by saying, that out of friendship to me, and for the peace of the county, he hoped (or rather advised) I wou'd confirm the treaty, as before offer'd, and added that your Lordship wou'd speak to me upon it.

I answer'd him, that no one wou'd do more to preserve the peace of the county, than myself, but as to the affair of the Lieutenantcy I had already given him my answer, therefore unless Mr. Gwynne wou'd give up that point, it was impossible for me to enter into any compromise. Here ended the conversation.

Mr. Gwynne is gone down to renew his canvass, and Mr. Lewis has declared for him ; therefore I am now at liberty as to the borough (and unless I receive any directions to the contrary from your Lordship) I shall write Mr. Lewis Jun^{r} word . . . that I will support him with all my interest, as will Lord Oxford, and I have no doubts but he will drive his enemy, so supported.[3]

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[1] Bute MSS.

[2] This statement, two months after the minute for the compromise had been drawn up at Newcastle House, is, to say the least, amazing. The six months he mentioned were the period after the King's death for which commissions were extended pending definite appointments.

[3] Bute MSS.

But as for giving Thomas Lewis's Stewardship of the King's Lordships to Edward Lewis, Carnarvon thought that, Mr. Lewis being a stranger in the country, it should preferably be given to himself together with the Lord Lieutenancy—"as the whole interest the Crown has in Radnorshire consists in these offices, the splitting them in a degree must weaken it".

At the last moment an agreement was reached after all. Howell Gwynne and Thomas Lewis signed the proposal for a compromise sent to them by Powis,[1] and on March 2, 1761, Powis transmitted the paper for Carnarvon's signature, reminding him that he would have to give peremptory orders to his friends in favour of Thomas Lewis. "You will then be rid of all trouble, and the county will be restor'd to its former quiet".[2]

We have two great difficulties to surmount [wrote Carnarvon to Bute on March 2], the one to stop the opposition in the borough; and the other to pacify our own friends in the county, who are very angry with me for the compromise.

I saw Mr. Lewis junior last night, and shall see him again this evening; but as the canvass has begun absolutely against my advice, doubt much being able to stop it.

P.S.—I want much to explain to your Lordship, what Mr. Lewis mentions as to my having promised him my interest.[3]

The terms of the compromise are mentioned in another letter from Carnarvon to Bute, marked "Saturday evening":

By the treaty I enter'd into with Lord Powis, I shall hope to meet with no opposition for the county, from Mr. Gwynne; yet as some of his agents have been endeavouring to raise a flame in the county,

[1] H. Gwynne to Lord Carnarvon, February 28, 1761; Add. MSS. 5726, D, f. 75, and B, f. 37.

[2] Bute MSS.

[3] Bute MSS.—The letter is merely dated "Monday, 4 o'clock"; it seems most likely that this was Monday, March 2.

and to persuade some of my friends that I had deserted them, by acquiescing to his continuing five years in his office of Lieut^cy and Custos Rot. (if approved of by the King) I am not altogether without suspicion that I may meet with some foul play. . . .

He therefore asked that the Lieutenancy be not filled till after the election ; though, if the other side adhered to the compromise, he would agree to Gwynne's continuing in office for five years :

I have done all I can towards stopping the opposition in the borough of Radnor but find it impracticable ; but I shall act in it consistant to the treaty.

The Duke of Newcastle has given me authority to inform Mr. Gwynne that Old Sarum is the borough designed for him.

Lord Powis has promised me that I may recommend Justices, when the Commission of Peace passes for that county. . . .

On April 11, 1761, Lord Carnarvon was returned unopposed for the county of Radnor,[1] whilst Howell Gwynne had been returned for Old Sarum on March 30 ; and from now onwards Gwynne, on whose behalf Newcastle had so strenuously exerted himself, was one of the most faithful followers of Bute and a regular " King's friend ".

No agreement was reached concerning Radnor borough, and on April 3 a double return was made of the two candidates. Newcastle continued to support Thomas Lewis, with which Powis was well pleased :

Otherwise, indeed [he wrote to Newcastle on April 13, 1761], the peace, as well as the power, of the country wou'd be left on such a footing (by means of what has been done lately, by a sett of low, turbulent people, the remains of the old Tories who, to revive that interest, have absolutely made this contest to be a party-dispute in

[1] The next day he wrote to inform Bute about it ; see Add. MSS. 5726 C., f. 120. In a previous letter, of April 2, mentioned in the British Museum Register of Bute's " Correspondence " (Add. MSS. 36796, f. 85), he had complained of the delay of the Radnorshire election " caused by the writ being secreted ", and declared that neither Thomas Lewis nor Gwynne could be trusted.

Radnorshire) that there will be no living there for any friends of your Grace.—Their insolence is the more extraordinary as their aim and endeavours were to oppose and defeat that compromise, which was concluded under your Grace's protection, for the service of Lord Carnarvon, with the approbation of Lord Bute.—They regarded his Lordship's success no further, than to make use of him as their instrument, to destroy that interest of the Whigs in Radnorshire, which for these forty years has been so well established, as to withstand all their efforts to shake it.[1]

Probably none of these Radnorshire politicians could have named any marked difference between "Whigs" and "Tories", except that in the county they were the two sides in an organised quarrel. For even whilst there were still real differences between the two parties, animosities in the counties were always more bitter than at the centre. In 1712 Addison wrote in his *Sir Roger de Coverley*:

I observe that the spirit of party reigns more in the country than in the town. . . . At the same time that the heads of parties . . . keep up a perpetual intercourse of civilities, their tools . . . in these out-lying parts will not so much as mingle together at a cock match.

And Sir Roger himself was

a much stronger Tory in the country than in town, which, as he told me in my ear, is absolutely necessary for the keeping up his interest.

No parties or politics were mentioned in the letter which Edward Lewis, the "Tory" candidate, wrote to Bute on June 12:

Inclination when in prosperity attach'd me to your Lordship, permit me now, in the adverse situation of my affairs . . . to entreat your Lordship's advice in regard to my election at New Radnor. . . . I am sensible, a man's being merely unfortunate, is not with a person of your Lordship's way of thinking, reason sufficient to deprive me of your protection. . . .[2]

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[1] Add. MSS. 32921, f. 454.

[2] Add. MSS. 5726 D, f. 205, and B, f. 56.

When in November 1761 the Radnor election came before the House of Commons, Thomas Lewis withdrew and Edward Lewis was seated. The "Whig cause", considered primarily in terms of quasi-proprietary claims of the "Whig" incumbents of seats and places, was satisfied, for the time being, by the Stewardship of the King's Manors in Radnorshire being left to Thomas Lewis.

To secure the peace and quiet of the country allready too much harassed with vexatious law suits to the ruin of many, [he wrote to Newcastle on December 16, 1761] and to prevent any trouble or difficulty upon my account, I chose to decline a tedious contest in the House at this juncture. . . .

Having, my Lord, a considerable independent landed property in my country, I will not omitt the earliest opportunity of a place where I have so long sate, to continue with the usual zeal the service of my King and country. . . .[1]

And again, on September 20, 1765, when Lord Oxford, considered a Tory, applied to Rockingham for the Stewardship of the Radnorshire Manors, Thomas Lewis wrote to Newcastle:

Your Grace will, I hope, pardon my acquainting you that Mr. Pelham put the Stewardp of the King's Lordships in Radnorshire, into my hands in the year 1746: which has an influence in the burrough, and uninterruptedly possessed by me till His Majesty's accession when Lord Carnarvon, finding my interest in the county absolutely necessary for him, with very high authority rather demanded than intreated it, this coming from the person he made no scruple of mentioning induced my compliance upon the terms of the Stewardships continuing in my hands without any limitation. . . .

Should he be deprived of it, this would hurt "the Whig interest" in the county and be

a very sensible mark upon me likewise who for 47 years served in Parliament upon my own expence and interest . . . never varying

[1] Add. MSS. 32932, f. 208.

but constant in the support of His Majesty's and the Whig interest. . . .[1]

Thomas Lewis, though he lived till 1777, did not stand again for Radnor, but his nephew and heir, John Lewis, contested it against Edward Lewis in 1768, 1774, and 1780, and was returned each time, only to be unseated on petition. The son of John Lewis, Sir Thomas Frankland Lewis, first Baronet, regained the borough for the Harpton family in 1847, and in 1855 was succeeded in its representation by his son, the well-known statesman, Sir George Cornewall Lewis, who retained the seat till his death in 1863.

Lord Powis and the New Court

Henry Arthur Herbert, son of Francis Herbert, M.P. for Ludlow, was not the heir to any title, but as other branches of the family became extinct, this clever politician managed to have their titles recreated in his person. Thus that of Lord Herbert of Chirbury, which had become extinct in 1738, was given him in 1743; and when his exceedingly distant cousin, the third and last Marquis of Powis (Duke of Jacobite creation), died in 1748, leaving his estates to Lord Herbert, he promptly turned to Newcastle with a request for the titles:

> As the late Marquis of Powis [wrote Herbert on April 7, 1748] by giving me his estate, has done so much for a Protestant family, I should be very sorry to find that His Majesty with the interposition of my friends, shou'd not be prevail'd upon, to honour me with his approbation of it by granting me his titles. . . .
>
> *P.S.*—Let me add further that my disappointment in the point abovemention'd, wou'd make a very unfavourable impression upon the minds of those in the country that are the friends of the Government and are my friends; and have express'd very greatly their joy and satisfaction with my good fortune; to which they hope for the addition of the title.[2]

[1] Add. MSS. 32969, f. 450.

[2] Add. MSS. 32714, f. 442.

On May 27, 1748, Lord Herbert was duly created Earl of Powis, and three years later married Barbara, the posthumous daughter and sole heiress of Lord Edward Herbert, the only brother of the last Marquis.

In 1734, on the death of Henry, third Earl of Bradford, Herbert was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Shropshire. In 1745 he was chosen Recorder of Ludlow, which he had represented in Parliament, 1727–43. He was, moreover, Recorder of Shrewsbury and Deputy Lieutenant of Montgomeryshire. In short, he captured whatever office of influence he could within the sphere of his election activities.

But on the accession of George III, Lord Bath proceeded to carry out his threat concerning the Lord Lieutenancy of Shropshire. The following entry appears in a "Memorandum of Conversation with Lord Bute and Mr. Pitt," drawn up by Newcastle on December 15, 1760:

> Lord Bute is acquainting me with what had pass'd with Lord Powis. His desire that his Lordship should be of the Bedchamber; and that that might be an expedient for the Lieutenancies.
>
> That my Lord Bath had told Mr. Pitt that the King had promised him both the Lieutenancies of Shropshire and Montgomery—that the King had made him no promise; but that Lord Bute wish'd it could be accommodated by making him Lord of the Bedchamber, giving the Lieutenancy of Shropshire to Lord Bath, and that of Montgomery to Lord Powis. I begg'd nothing might be done hastily in it; and stated the ill consequences it might have in Shropshire.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Mr Pitt . . . gave me the history of my Lord Bath's application —seem'd rather inclined to him; but hoped that the Bedchamber might be an expedient. . . .[1]

A memorandum, drawn up by Newcastle on December 16, gives the substance of a conversation with Lord Powis:

> Lord Powis.—Thinks he cannot take the Bedchamber on condition of his resigning the Lieutenancy to my Lord Bath. To

[1] Add. MSS. 32916, f. 81.

acquaint my Lord Bute and Mr. Pitt that this seems to be my Lord Powis's resolution; but that I think it should be postponed till the Duke of Devonshire comes to town, who is Lord Powis's great friend.[1]

The same day Powis wrote to Newcastle:

. . . I shall not depart from the sentiments your Grace found me in . . . as I have liv'd on very good terms many years with my Whig friends in the country (and on a late occasion particularly experienc'd their regard and attachment to me) no personal considerations shall tempt me to give them up; or warrant them to say—

vendidit hic auro patriam, dominumque superbum
imposuit.[2]

On December 17, the Duke of Devonshire begged Newcastle to prevent such a disgrace from falling on Powis, and authorised him, if necessary, to use his own name in the strongest manner—

. . . the consequence his Lordship is of in that part of the world; the influence he has over several Members of Parliament, and the attachment to him of all those who have been in that country the true friends and steady supporters to this Royal Family, are considerations that will I hope plead in his favour. . . .[3]

Newcastle certainly did not require any urging in this matter; he was warm, indignant, exasperated about it. "The turning out Lord Powis from his Lieutenancy of Shropshire to make way for Lord Bath" was cited by him to Rigby, on December 19, 1760, as evidence of the Whigs being "given up in many parts of England",[4] and in a conversation he had the same day with Bute, it produced so much heat as to result in a temporary suspension of

[1] Add. MSS. 32916, f. 83. [2] *Ibid.* f. 96.

[3] *Ibid.* f. 152. On January 16, 1761, Lady Grey wrote to her husband, Lord Royston, that two days ago the Duke of Newcastle "had all the Shropshire gentlemen with him in a body to remonstrate against the intended change of their Lord Lieutenant. This was a sort of triumph for Lord Powis, but it is said Lord Bath has obtained the promise" (Add. MSS. 35376, ff. 45-6).

[4] See p. 296.

negotiations between them. Lord Bute, wrote Newcastle to Devonshire on December 19,

> took it very high and said, Is the King to do nothing ? Is a possession for twenty-five years to prevent the King in a new reign from giving a Lieutenancy to a man of my Lord Bath's great consideration and estate in Shropshire ? [1]

On December 24, Lord Mansfield, when trying to bring the two together once more, assured Newcastle that there was no bad will on the part of Bute and that Powis's affair embarrassed him, " it having been rashly promised ". " It is thought you mean to be absolute and to force, etc., and to hallow the Whigs upon the incident of Lord Powys ". Thus to Newcastle the promise to remove Powis from the Lieutenancy of Shropshire, which Bath had obtained to satisfy his petty vanity and mean vengeance, was part of a scheme to overthrow the Whigs ; to the new Court, Newcastle's defence of an old friend and political dependant was a sign that he meant to establish his superiority in the new reign. And these exaggerations have become embedded in the history of the time.

But in February 1761, Powis got into direct touch with Bute over the Radnorshire elections, and the affair of his Lieutenancy, which had loomed so large, was soon accommodated between them. On March 3, the day after Powis had completed the Radnorshire agreement for Lord Carnarvon, he wrote to Bute :

> I should be extremely glad of the honour of an audience of His Majesty. Before I attempt it, I beg leave to state matters to your Lordship : and at the same time, when I wish to be inform'd of your sentiments, let me ask pardon for giving you this trouble.
>
> Being now removed from the office of Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum of Shropshire, I am desirous to assure His Majesty, not only of my submission to his will and pleasure, on that occasion, but of my duty and attention, on every other, to His Majesty's service :—and since reports have been spread abroad ' that it is

[1] Add. MSS. 32916, ff. 207-13.

my misfortune to be under His Majesty's displeasure' (which indeed, your Lordship has been so good as to leave me no room to be under apprehensions of) I wish likewise to lay before His Majesty in the most respectful manner the great satisfaction I should have in receiving (when ever it shall be judg'd proper) some mark of His Majesty's favour.[1]

Bath was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Shropshire on March 9, 1761,[2] but an appropriate " mark of his Majesty's favour " for Powis was soon found. Newcastle wrote to Hardwicke on May 14, 1761 : " Lord Powis will have the Comptroller's Staff. That will do well. Considering what has passed with Lord Bath ".[3] On May 22, Powis was appointed Comptroller of the Household, and in June, Lord Lieutenant of Montgomery and a Privy Councillor. He was now fully satisfied, and the " Whig cause ", as he conceived it, was safely established (moreover on the death of Lord Bath, in July 1764, Powis was re-appointed Lord Lieutenant of Shropshire). He continued to manage Shropshire affairs, happy to be able, for the time being, to serve two masters—or rather to serve Bute and make Newcastle take care of the jobs which he wished to have done for his friends.

On October 15, after Pitt's resignation and on the eve of the first session of the new Parliament, Newcastle wrote to Powis :

There is one earnest request, which I have to make of . . . all my Shropshire friends ; and that is, that they would all be in town, the first day of the session, and at the Cockpit the night before, on Monday November 2. It highly imports us, and all our friends, to have a

[1] Bute MSS.

[2] This enabled him to receive the honours at Shrewsbury which he desired so much, and to profess his dislike of them. On May 25, 1764, after a review of the militia, he wrote from Shrewsbury to his friend, the tiresome Mrs. Elizabeth Montagu : " I am plagued with regal honours, ceremonious civilitys, and most profound respect, which I detest most sincerely. . . ." (R. Blunt, *Mrs. Montagu*, vol. i. p. 102.)

[3] Add. MSS. 32923, f. 70.

great appearance at our first meeting ; if ever the Whigs intend to show their strength in support of the King and the present Administration, now is the time ; and the whole depends upon the appearance and attendance at first : pray, speak yourself personally to every one of your friends, and let me know their answer. I think, I have a right to ask this favor of you, and them ; especially when I can have no view in it, but our common interest. Having thus lodged this request with your Lordship, I shall not make any other application to them.[1]

With this letter Powis received a list of the friends he had to summon. It included the two Members for Shrewsbury (Hill and Clive), the two Members for Ludlow (Herbert and Bridgeman), General Whitmore, and the two Foresters; the name of Peregrine Cust was added with a query against it.

Powis replied on October 18 :

I can already assure you, that all my friends (I shou'd say your Grace's friends under my care) will certainly appear,—except Coll. Forester and Mr. Hill. The former now lies ill of the gout :—and Mr. Hill's eldest daughter . . . is now given over by her physicians : yet if he and Coll. Forester can possibly get up to town, I am sure they will do it. . . .[2]

When Newcastle was forced to resign, on May 26, 1762, he encouraged his friends to retain office (hoping that this might pave the way for his own return). Powis was only too glad to do so, but henceforth, whilst attending Bute's levees,[3] he kept away from Claremont, where Newcastle tried to outshine his successor by arranging for the greatest possible concourse of friends. Newcastle wrote to the Duke of Devonshire on July 15 :

I have my house full every day. . . . I will only observe, by the by, that I have seen your friend my Lord Powis but *once* ; and that at eight o'clock in the morning, two days after I came hither.[4]

[1] Add. MSS. 32929, f. 281.

[2] *Ibid.* f. 361.

[3] See, *e.g.*, list of people present at Bute's levee, sent to Newcastle by H. V. Jones in a letter of June 12, 1762; Add. MSS. 32939, ff. 309–10.

[4] Add. MSS. 32940, ff. 343-4.

The decisive test for Powis came when his friend, the Duke of Devonshire, was dismissed from office and struck off the roll of Privy Councillors by George III. On October 31, 1762, Newcastle wrote to Lord George Cavendish :

> My Lord Powis came to me yesterday morning from Devonshire House ; he was in extreme good humour, seem'd enraged at what had passed ; and I gave him gently to understand, or at least he might perceive what, I thought, he should do, considering his long attachment to, and connection with, the Duke of Devonshire, and his family.[1]

Powis, however, though " enraged ", was slow to take the hint, and was finding excuses for not resigning. Hardwicke wrote to Newcastle on November 15 :

> My Lord Powis will, in my opinion, not quit, and I look upon his postponing his *determination* till the Duke of Devonshire comes to town as a sign of it ; for his meaning seems to me to be, then to put it to the Duke of Devonshire whether he absolutely insists upon his resigning, which I suspect his Grace will not say plainly he does. The fear of my Lord Bath is a mere frivolous pretence.[2]

The next day, in a letter marked " Very secret ", Newcastle appealed to Devonshire to make Powis resign :

> As to my Lord Powis, your Grace must exert yourself, both for your own sake, his Lordship's sake, and that of us all. His quitting perhaps would have more effect with the Whig country gentlemen (and they are the persons upon whom we must depend) than any body's. His Lordship is certainly in great doubt, and undetermined what to do. He sees his figure concern'd on one side, to act a part becoming him towards your Grace, and your family ; and what is really for the support of the Whig interest. On the other hand, he loves Court, is used to it ; and thinks, that his interest in the country has been greatly supported by his interest at Court. Hitherto, to be sure, that has been greatly the case ; but that was, when the Court had their interest (the Whigs) infinitely more at heart, than, I am afraid, the Court at present has ; that Court acted according to their principle and inclination, in supporting my Lord

[1] Add. MSS. 32944, f. 167.

[2] Add. MSS. 32945, f. 17.

Powis; this Court will certainly act contrary to their rule and inclination, if they do it. And I wonder, his Lordship don't see my Lord Bath in a different light from what my Lady Powis represents him to do.

But, my Lord, my Lord Powis will certainly ask your Grace, whether you wish that he should resign; he may go farther, and ask you whether you insist upon it; I really think you owe it to the Whig cause, without any delicacy about yourself (for allow me to say it, you are above that), to give my Lord Powis plainly to understand, that you do think that, in the present formation of the Administration, he ought not to make a part of it; and that, I am persuaded, will do.[1]

Another letter, again marked "Very secret", followed on November 20:

My Lord Powis has declared to me his intention not to resign his Staff; and that, in a manner, that does not do him honor; tho' I beg, your Grace would take no notice of that. His Lordship denies his having ever told me, *that he would determine nothing, 'till he saw your Grace*, asserts, that I had never done him any one favor; (that is pretty extraordinary indeed); and to sum up all, that the King solely gave him his employment; that he can't resign without offending the King; that, in that, he follows my example, who, he says, told him, that in the affair of my Lord Bath, I could not offend the King; altho' I represented against it, in the strongest manner, as your Grace knows, to the King himself. And I believe, your Grace and I contributed something to his having the Staff.[2]

A week later Newcastle was already counting his Shropshire votes apart from Powis. He wrote to Rockingham on November 27:

. . . of Lord Powis's party, I think, we are sure of two Clives, two Forresters, Gen[l] Whitmore, and, I hope, Bridgeman. . . .[3]

In the list of the House of Commons which Newcastle had compiled on November 13, 1762, seven Shropshire Members were placed among his friends (Whitmore,

[1] Add. MSS. 32945, f. 52.

[2] *Ibid.* f. 89.

[3] *Ibid.* f. 162.

Bridgeman, Herbert, Hill, Clive, and the two Foresters) and five among his opponents (the four Tories—Lyster, Astley, Child, and Cust—and John Grey, M.P. for Bridgnorth and brother of Lord Stamford). On Powis's defection, Herbert was naturally given up, and also Hill. In the division on the preliminaries of peace, on December 9, 1762, only Lord Clive, the two Foresters, and Whitmore voted with the Opposition; the absence of Bridgeman must not, however, be taken as a proof of a change in attitude, as there was extreme mismanagement of the division on the Opposition side.

Lord Clive, Home Politics, and Bishop's Castle[1]

Lord Sandwich was for many years closely connected with India House,[2] and Robert Jones, M.P., his friend, "man of business", and nominee at Huntingdon, was a Director of the East India Company. In home politics

[1] Clive's biographers follow him on his conquest of an empire in Asia, and do not dwell on his capture of a Parliamentary borough at home. But this neglect is not due to the comparative insignificance of the subject alone; historians whose interest centres in India, a subject so vast as to absorb all their time and attention, seem shy of plunging into the maze of the extremely complex home politics of the time. Still, the history of India House and of its connexions will have to be written some day in a more intimate manner than is done in books which keep to the main track of Parliamentary debates and Acts; and, whilst I do not myself possess the requisite knowledge to enter on that subject, which, moreover, would take me too far out of my way, in this essay on Clive's home county I propose to gather material about him which may incidentally prove useful to those who work on the history of the Eastern Empire in the eighteenth century. Some of it has been given under Shrewsbury, some more appears under Penryn. In this chapter I deal with Clive's curious tergiversations during the years 1761 63, and his capture of the borough of Bishop's Castle.

[2] The origin and nature of this connexion I have not been able to trace—they are probably recorded in some very obvious place, only I do not happen to have come across it.

Sandwich still followed in 1761 the Duke of Cumberland, who, as the dynastic opposition in the new reign, was drawing closer to Newcastle ; therefore also Sandwich, for the time being, co-operated with him. On April 24, 1761, he wrote to Newcastle that this was a favourable moment to secure the friendship of Colonel Clive, " as he is dissatisfied with the person to whom he seem'd most inclined to attach himself [Pitt ?], which I did not fail to make the proper advantages of . . ." He proposed to send Jones to Clive,

> to go from me to him, to give him an account by word of mouth of your Grace's inclination to serve him. This will be a means of preventing a necessity of putting anything into writing. . . . and as I can entirely depend on Jones's discretion and address, it will be a means of preventing a relation of his who is allways at his elbow [Walsh ?] . . . from making impressions on him in favour of his former friend. . . .

Sandwich added that Colonel Clive " will carry at least two Members besides himself ; and will never have anything to ask beyond the present favour. . . ." [1]

On May 3 Clive wrote to Sandwich from Bath :

> I am more obligd than words can express for the part your Lordship has taken in my behalf, any notice taken of me, as the reward of my successes (rather than merits) cannot but be very acceptable, I should have been sav'd from much anxiety, if when so many others were thought of, I had not been forgotten, not that I pretend to plead any other merit than the notice which was taken of me by the Duke of Newcastle and the public. If less had been said, I should have been less ambitious and consequently less unhappy.[2]

" The enclosed letter ", wrote Sandwich to Newcastle when forwarding the above, " . . . seems to shew that we

[1] Add. MSS. 32922, ff. 181-2. The two members were his father, Richard Clive, M.P. for Montgomery, and John Walsh, M.P. for Worcester. The " favour " may have been a K.B. or an Irish peerage ; he shortly received both.

[2] *Ibid.* f. 348.

have fully succeeded in our negociation at Bath ".[1] On July 13, 1761, an entry appears in Newcastle's Memorandums about the " first Red Ribbon " to be given to Clive : [2] and during the next months entries occur about his Irish peerage which was solicited for him by Lord Powis and the Duke of Devonshire.[3] On December 1, 1761, Clive, on receiving it, thanked Newcastle as its " first cause and principal promoter " ; [4] and Newcastle continued to be harassed by Powis with requests on behalf of Clive[5] and Walsh " a very sensible man, and not unworthy of your attention . . . who has your Grace's service very much at heart ".[6] Still three days before Newcastle left the Treasury, he was importuned by Powis to help Maskelyne, Clive's brother-in-law, to a Commissionership of Taxes.

I resign, as your Lordship knows, my employment on Wensday [replied Newcastle on Sunday, May 23]; and I wonder, after the usage, you know I meet with every day from the King, you can imagine H.M. would let me recommend a Commissioner of Taxes on any account. . . . I beg you would shew my Lord Clive that it is impossible for me to do it. . . .[7]

By November 1762 the Duke of Cumberland was very nearly in declared opposition to the Government, whilst Henry Fox, previously his chief political agent, had gone over to the Court, and, in turn, persuaded Sandwich, who was in financial difficulties, to do likewise, and accept the post of Ambassador to Spain.

. . . it is with the greatest heart breaking [wrote Sandwich to the Duke of Cumberland on November 10] I am obliged to say, that

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[1] *Ibid.* f. 346.

[2] Add. MSS. 32925, f. 42.

[3] August 5, 1761, Add. MSS. 32926, f. 181 ; September 15, 32928, f. 187 ; October 22, 32929, f. 436 ; November 24, 32931, f. 244.

[4] Add. MSS. 32931, f. 368.

[5] Add. MSS. 32934, ff. 33, 223-5, 312 ; 32935, f. 370.

[6] Add. MSS. 32935, f. 20 ; about the petition against his election at Worcester, see Add. MSS. 32931, ff. 9, 11, 17, and 31.

[7] Add. MSS. 32938, f. 417 ; see also *ibid.* ff. 401-3 and 415.

my affairs being in the most confused condition . . . I could never have any peace of mind if I was to throw away the means of making some reparation to my family, for the damage they will have suffered from my indiscretions.[1]

On November 12 Fox, engaged on forming a Court party, wrote to Sandwich :

Pray, my Lord, send Mr. Major, Mr. Henniker, Mr. Stephenson [2] and, if you can, Lord Clive, to me next Tuesday. I am told Lord Clive's great love to the D[uke] of D[evonshire] is new and not fix'd. To your Excellency it is neither new nor weak. And I hear the whole family were, not long ago, vastly pleased with a letter Lord Bute wrote to his Lordship. Let him come, if you can, and ask *one* thing, not *two*. Adieu.[3]

The scheme to gain Clive failed ; the peace treaty touched Indian affairs too closely, and where India was concerned, Clive was not accessible to minor blandishments. He wrote to Major Carnac on November 23, 1762 :

I still continue to be one of those unfashionable kind of people who think very highly of independency, and to bless my stars, indulgent fortune has enabled me to act according to my conscience. Being very lately asked, by authority, if I had any honours to ask from my sovereign, my answer was, that I thought it dishonourable to take advantage of the times ; but that when these Parliamentary disputes were at an end, if his Majesty should then approve of my conduct by rewarding it, I should think myself highly honoured in receiving any marks of the royal favour.[4]

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[1] Sandwich MSS. There is a draft and a copy of this letter at Hinchingbrooke, both in Lord Sandwich's own hand.

[2] All three were merchants and Members of Parliament. Major was Henniker's father-in-law, and Stephenson was politically connected with Lord Sandwich. These three were got over to the Court.

[3] Sandwich MSS. The letter from Lord Bute mentioned above is possibly that of September 1, 1762, from which an excerpt appears in Sir John Malcolm's *Life of Robert, Lord Clive* (1836), vol. ii. pp. 207-8. Bute thanked him therein for his " Memorial as to the East Indies ".

[4] Sir John Malcolm, *op. cit.*, vol. ii. p. 205.

Although Clive's father attended the meeting at the Cockpit on November 24, 1762, preparatory to the opening of the session, it is not certain whether he himself was present,[1] and anyhow in the division of December 1, 1762, the Clives voted with the Opposition,[2] and on December 9 Lord Clive and John Walsh were of the minority of 65 who voted against the preliminaries of the peace treaty.

In April 1763 Clive, engaged in a bitter contest with Sullivan at the India House, turned to Newcastle, the greatest of eighteenth-century electioneers. On the 8th he received the following note :

> The Duke of Newcastle sends his compliments to my Lord Clive ; and returns him many thanks for the printed list ; and is very glad to see that by that list we have so great a majority ; which the Duke of Newcastle hopes will increase.
>
> The Duke of Newcastle has gone through the whole list very carefully ; and has taken out the few names which he has any means of gaining, who are not engaged on either side ; and will send to them immediately ; nothing has been or shall be wanting on his part.[3]

But James West reported on April 14 :

> I am sorry to tell your Grace Mr. Sullivan and his list have carried the ballot. Lord Clive was 81 lower than the lowest in Mr. Sullivan's list and the highest in Lord Clive's list was 20 below the lowest in Sullivan's list. Lord Clive must have been strangely misled in his calculations.[4]

" We have been cheated out of the election by the Clerks of the India House ",[5] was Thomas Walpole's comment.

Whilst Clive thus solicited and received Newcastle's

[1] Add. MSS. 33000, ff. 169-71 and 175.

[2] *Ibid.* ff. 195-6.

[3] Add. MSS. 32948, f. 69. For the lists of names of proprietors of East India stock and selections of those to whom Newcastle applied see Add. MSS. 33031, ff. 69-73.

[4] Add. MSS. 32948, f. 130.

[5] *Ibid.* f. 128. The letter is not signed, but is in Thomas Walpole's handwriting.

active support in the India House election, he had simultaneous dealings with his opponents.

I saw Lord Clive this morning [wrote Charles Jenkinson to George Grenville on April 20, 1763]. He seems to think that Sullivan will do all he can to obstruct their proceedings, but he does not appear to be afraid of him. He was full of the strongest expressions of gratitude to you, said that you might depend on Mr. Walsh and Crabb Bolton, but said that the latter was a great rogue.[1]

Meantime the East India Company called in question Clive's "jaggeer" of £28–29,000 a year,[2] and as Hardwicke was told by Lord Clive and his father, who called upon him "to discourse about it", the Company "sent an order to their Governor and Council of Bengal to remit no more money to his Lordship on that account; but to retain it in the Company's cash, and to keep a distinct account of it".[3] The next day Newcastle received a message about it through Lord Bessborough, a brother-in-law of the Duke of Devonshire, to whom Clive complained of the "very bad turn" done to him by those he had "saved . . . from perdition"; Bessborough advised Clive to go to Hayes "and acquaint his friend Mr. Pitt of it", which Clive seems to have done.[4] His political friendships were obviously most comprehensive.

[1] *Grenville Papers*, vol. ii. p. 46. Crabb Boulton was a Director of the East India Company and Walsh's colleague as Member for Worcester.

[2] "By the ninth article of the treaty between the Company and Meer Jaffier, . . . in 1757, certain lands to the south of Calcutta were ceded to the Company as perpetual renters, the Nabob reserving to himself . . . quit-rents, which amounted to near 30,000*l.* yearly. . . . The Company farmed out these ceded lands for above 100,000*l.* a year", while the Nabob, "in consideration of the great services rendered him by Lord Clive, assigned over to his Lordship, for life, that quit-rent" (see Sir John Malcolm, *op. cit.* vol. ii. p. 217, quoted by him from "a . . . paper in defence of Lord Clive's conduct, and believed to be written by the late Sir Henry Strachey").

[3] Add. MSS. 32948, f. 189.

[4] See letter from Lord Clive to George Grenville, December 21, 1763; *Grenville Papers*, vol. ii. pp. 183-4.

On May 19 Clive again applied for Newcastle's help at the East India House,[1] and Newcastle "immediately set about engaging all those" whom he could "possibly get at".[2] He also invited Lord Clive, his father, and Mr. Walsh to dine with him at Claremont, and wrote to Clive on June 30: "I hope your affairs at Shrewsbury go well; I heartily wish you success there and everywhere else".[3]

In August 1763 Newcastle's return to office, together with Pitt, was generally expected, and Clive, at Condover, near Shrewsbury, had not received the news of the failure of the negotiations when he wrote to him on September 5:

> All our friends in Shropshire are as firm and steady as your Grace can wish, and by a late purchase I entertain the most sanguine hopes of making the burrough of Bishop's Castle more useful than it has hitherto been, at least I think the present Members can have no expectation of being rechosen for that place. . . .
>
> I never shall desire to know anything of ministerial secrets, but if a much wish'd for event either happens or is likely to happen, a line from your Grace will be very acceptable, that I may come to town to congratulate you upon the occasion, for no one can be more steadily attach'd to your Grace's interest than etc. . . .[4]

Francis Child, M.P. for Bishop's Castle, died on September 23, 1763, and on October 10 Newcastle wrote to Clive:

> I long to hear something about Bishop's Castle; upon the present vacancy they say you can do what you will there. I am sure you will do what is right. . . .
>
> *P.S.* . . . I hear everything is settled to your satisfaction at Bishop's Castle; I rejoice at it.

Clive replied on October 14:

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[1] Add. MSS. 32948, f. 338; ff. 333-5 contain the lists sent by Clive on this occasion.

[2] Newcastle to Clive, May 22, 1763; *ibid.* f. 359.

[3] Add. MSS. 32949, f. 244.

[4] Add. MSS. 32950, ff. 331-2.

Your Grace may remember that I inform'd you the purchase of the Walcot estate would in the end secure to me the Borrough of Bishop's Castle, the death of Mr. Child happen'd rather sooner than I could have wish'd as I did not take possession of the estate till last Michaelmass and was almost an utter stranger to the borrough. Mr. Waring who has an interest here also receiv'd an express from his father-in-law, Mr. Ranby a surgeon of Chelsea Hospital by which means he got the start of us, 24 hours, and began to canvass for himself immediately, fortunately for us young Mr. Walcot who had promis'd me all his interest was upon the spot and hearing of Mr. Waring's proceedings came immediately in person to give me the intelligence. Mr. Walcot's short absence lost us some votes who upon a supposition that there would have been no opposition gave their promise to Mr. Waring, notwithstanding all these disadvantages we have a very clear and considerable majority, all the gentlemen both of town and country have join'd me to a man and every friend Mr. Waring has, endeavord to prevail upon him to desist but to no manner of purpose hitherto, Mr. George Clive is nominated the candidate, supported by all mine and the Walcot interest.

As Mr. Waring is a friend to our cause as well as myself and pays great defference to Mr. Pitt, your Grace and Mr. Pitt cannot do Mr. Waring a greater piece of service than persuading Mr. Ranby to prevail upon Mr. Waring to drop this contest, which must end in his utter ruin and destruction without a possibility of succeeding, his fortune being by no means equal to such an undertaking.

Your Grace I am persuaded knows enough of me to be convinced, that I will spend the utmost farthing sooner than give up my interest in this borrough, which I have great pretensions to from my late purchase.[1]

At the bottom of the letter he added the following note concerning the relative strength of the two candidates :

For Mr. George Clive :

57 Burgesses.
11 Aldermen or Capital Burgesses.

68.

[1] Add. MSS. 32951, ff. 424-5.

For Mr. Waring :

41 Burgesses.
4 Aldermen or Capital Burgesses.

45 M[ajority] 23.

Newcastle wrote back on October 18 that he doubted whether he could influence Waring and Ranby, but Pitt could ; " I dare say, he will be very glad to do everything, that may be agreable to your Lordship " ; and (deserted by Powis) Newcastle now asked Clive to act for him in Shropshire.

I hear, all our Shropshire friends are just as you and I wish them ; I wish, your Lordship could contrive to speak to them, to be in town, at the opening of the session. I beg my compliments to Mr. George Clive, with my best wishes for his success, and to all your family, and friends.[1]

Clive replied on October 31 :

Since I had the honor of paying my respects to your Grace at Claremont I have seen Harry Bridgman and upon discoursing together we both are of the opinion that if your Grace would write a line to Mr. Brooke Forrester of Dothill desiring his and his brother's attendance at the first opening of Parliament, it would have very good effect, and we shall be ready to support your Grace's letter with all our interest.[2]

Meantime Clive did not hesitate to accept George Grenville's help at the East India House—

as our friendship has induced you to be a mediator between me and the Court of Directors [he wrote to Grenville on November 7, 1763], in compliance with your desire I now send you the terms on which I am ready to make an absolute cession of . . . my jaggeer, in favour of the East India Company.[3]

But two days later he is found writing again to Newcastle about Shropshire affairs, and soliciting his help at Bishop's Castle :

[1] Add. MSS. 32952, f. 38.

[2] *Ibid.* f. 154. For Newcastle's letter to Brooke Forester see *ibid.* f. 174.

[3] *Grenville Papers*, vol. ii. pp. 160-61.

I suppose your Grace has receiv'd an answer from Forrester before this; enclosed is the one I have just receiv'd, by which your Grace will perceive we may depend more upon Forrester than he thinks we can depend upon Harry Bridgman.[1]

Ranby is gone down and some say Cust with him. I have just now received advice that £500 have been offerd for ten of our voters, but to very little purpose, nothing can hurt us provided the returning officer be steady which I have reason to think he will be, the only thing which gives me uneasiness is that I have not yet got his son discharged altho Col. Reynolds has made a promise to General Mostyn. I wish your Grace would press this matter to the Duke of Devonshire and Lord Rockingham.[2]

Waring, whose father-in-law, John Ranby, was Serjeant-Surgeon to the King, had apparently the assistance of Government promised to him, even though Clive described him to Newcastle as "a friend to our cause"; but as Clive was now drawing nearer to the Government, Lord Sandwich, at that time Secretary of State, inclined to help him at Bishop's Castle in so far as previous engagements permitted. On November 17 he wrote to Ranby that he was working the excisemen at Bishop's Castle in favour of Waring, but also transmitted a proposal from Clive to pay Waring £1000 "for the expenses already incurred", if he declined the contest.

I will farther add that it will not be unpleasing to Government, but otherwise, if this offer is accepted; yet I would not have you suppose that there is any alteration in the disposition of Government towards you, which is the same in every respect as when you left London.[3]

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[1] For Forester's letter to Clive, dated November 7, see Add. MSS. 32952, f. 282: "I hope by Tuesday to have the pleasure of meeting you and Mr. Bridgeman, and that by this time he has fix'd wether he votes with us or not."

[2] Add. MSS. 32952, f. 308.

[3] Sandwich MSS., "Private Letters", vol. i. pp. 35-6; the letter is marked "Thursday", which, from the place in the book, appears to have been November 17, 1763. There is a copy of another letter, written the same day to Lord Powis and informing him of the offer sent to Ranby (p. 33).

Waring declined the offer, and on November 24, 1763, was defeated by George Clive, who secured 80 votes against Waring's 53.

On December 13 Clive, who by that time seems to have definitely dissociated himself from Newcastle, is found writing to George Grenville about the anxiety he laboured under concerning his compromise with the East India Company, "more essentially necessary towards establishing my peace of mind than the improvement of my fortune . . . ":

> Discountenanced and hated by the party I have abandoned, as much as I was before respected and esteemed, if I should, through the obstinate injustice of the Directors (notwithstanding your powerful mediation) be disappointed, I must confess to you, Sir, that I have so much sensibility inherent in my nature, that my mind will be too much affected to recover so severe a shock for some time ; but be the event what it will, I have taken my part, and you may be assured that my poor services, such as they are, shall be dedicated for the rest of my days to the King, and my obligations to you always acknowledged, whether in or out of power.[1]

The compromise, patched up by Lord Sandwich between Clive and Sullivan, was unanimously rejected by the Court of Directors.[2] But this is a matter which we need not pursue here any further.

To conclude the story of Bishop's Castle: Walter Waring did not venture to contest it again, but by an agreement dated December 26, 1767, sold his Shropshire estates to Lord Clive for £30,500.[3] With 1768 starts the era of Clive domination at Bishop's Castle, which continued unbroken till 1818 and even unchallenged except for one

[1] *Grenville Papers*, vol. ii. pp. 180-83. In 1765, after the fall of the Grenville Administration, the Clives attached themselves once more to Newcastle.

[2] See letter from George Onslow to the Duke of Newcastle, December 18, 1763 ; Add. MSS. 32954, f. 36.

[3] See Private Act 8 George III c. 62, confirming the agreement.

contest in 1802. " The day I staid at Shrewsbury ", wrote Taylor White[1] on March 22, 1768, " Mr. George Clive and Captain Clive, *i.e.* Lord Clive's brother, came from their election at Bishop's Castle where they had no opposition. My friend More[2] was with them and advised them, if they intended to do any good in Parliament to be as unlike the persons they represented as possible. . . ."[3]

The Shropshire Gentlemen

Before the historic division of February 17–18, 1764, on General Warrants, was taken in the House of Commons, the Clives had thus gone over to the Government; and Hill had likewise been gained. In a letter dated January 23, 1764, Lord Holland informed Lord Sandwich of a call which " Mr. Hill of Shropshire " paid him that morning (the first meeting he ever had with him), and during which Holland told Hill that Sandwich had supported his son. " He will come to wait on you, pray if not at home, send and appoint him; for he seems to me to be fix'd very reasonably ".[4] When, on February 15, Hill's nephew, Edward Kynaston, M.P. for Montgomeryshire, a Tory who acted as one of Grenville's Parliamentary managers, in a letter to Jenkinson reviewed the forces the Government could muster for the critical division, he remarked about Hill that he seldom stayed out " a long day "[5]—hardly surprising in a man of seventy-one; and indeed Hill's name appears in the list " of friends absent, 17th February, 1764 ",[6] or rather at the division which was taken on February 18, at 4.15 A.M. Henry Bridgeman, Brooke Forester, and William Whitmore voted with the Opposition; Cecil Forester was absent but was counted among the

[1] A Welsh judge, brother of John White, M.P. for Retford.
[2] Robert More: about him see pp. 300-1 and 320-22.
[3] *Memoirs of the House of White of Wallingwells*, p. 40.
[4] Sandwich MSS.
[5] Add. MSS. 38202, f. 97.
[6] Add. MSS. 38337, f. 192.

Opposition Members. Lyster, Astley, John Grey, Edward Herbert, Peregrine Cust, and two Clives (Lord Clive and his cousin George Clive, who had meantime been returned in place of Child for Bishop's Castle) may be presumed to have voted with the Government, as they do not appear either in the Opposition lists or in the Government list of absent friends. In a division in which the Government was saved by an insignificant majority, of 234 against 220, Shropshire gave seven votes to the Government and only three to the Opposition.[1]

Thus the two Foresters, Whitmore, and Bridgeman alone remained true to Newcastle. Indeed, the Whitmores had for a long time been to the old Duke an outstanding example of loyalty—in anticipation of his retirement he had written to the Duke of Devonshire on January 10, 1762: "*Whitmores* and some few will stand by me, in spite of every body; not as one of the King's Ministers, but from their private regard to me".[2] So they did; still, the name of none of the Shropshire Members appears in the list of the Opposition club in Albemarle Street—they kept to their own county and did not move about much in the political circles of London. A good description of their attitude and moods is given in a letter which Newcastle wrote to George Onslow, M.P. for Surrey, from Bath on March 21, 1765:

> I am sorry to tell you, that your opposition is in very low esteem here at Bath. I have had a great deal of discourse with two old, and very honest friends, Sir Thos. Whitmore, and Sir Wm. St. Quintin; they are what they have always been; and just as I could wish them: But I don't see any reason to think, that my friend General Whitmore will attend any more this session.
>
> I have also had a great deal of discourse with the two Forresters.

[1] Richard Clive and Walsh are not included in this calculation as they did not sit for Shropshire constituencies. Of the two Shropshire members who were absent, Hill would have voted with the Government and Cecil Forester with the Opposition; thus the vote of the full Shropshire representation would have been 2 : 1 for the Government.

[2] Add. MSS. 32933, f. 177.

The Stag,[1] and his brother, the Coll: ; I believe, neither of them will come up. The Stag is very zealous, as he always was, and ever will be ; I think, he has still some correspondence with his old friend, my Lord Powis ; tho' he resents extremely the part he takes ; and has a good deal of partiality for my Lord Granby. But, when he came to the point, he said, (what all the world say, except a very, very narrow clique) " that we have no *Head* ; nobody to lead them, etc.". I puffed your friends Sir Geo: Saville and Sir Wm. Meredith, and particularly Sir George, and our young friends as much as could be. The Stag said, it was true ; but they were young men, and *had no experience.* In short I see, we shall have no assistance from the very best set of men, I ever knew, in Parliament, what we used to call *the Shropshire Gang.*

The Stag told me, he had had a letter from honest Sir H. Bridgeman ; wherein he said, they had had a division, and the minority had had but one Shropshire man in it, Sir Harry himself.[2]

When in July 1765 the Rockingham Whigs, who now claimed a monopoly in Whiggism, were about to assume office, Newcastle was determined that Lord Powis should be made to pay for his defection. On July 4 he wrote to Lord Albemarle, the political agent of the Duke of Cumberland :

His Royal Highness seem'd disposed, not to remove my Ld. Powis, imagining, he was of great importance in Shropshire. I know the contrary, having had very free discourses upon his subject with my friends Sir H. Bridgeman, Sir Thomas Whitmore, and Forester *the Stag.* . . .[3]

And again to Lord Rockingham on July 12 :

I hope nobody will keep in my Lord Powis ; there, I am sure, the Devonshire family ought to be concerned.[4]

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[1] Brooke Forester. He wrote in a letter to Lord Clive on November 7, 1763, when asked to attend Parliament : " Your Lordship seems to expect good diversion in town, but had you been at our last hind chace, of near five hours, you likely would not have dispized that amusement of the country. . . ." (Add. MSS. 32952, f. 282). Perhaps Brooke Forester's predilection for this kind of chase earned him his nickname.

[2] Add. MSS. 32966, ff. 79-80.

[3] Add. MSS. 32967, ff. 220-21.

[4] *Ibid.* f. 351.

But Powis understood so much; Rockingham reported to Newcastle on July 14, 7 P.M.:

> Lord Powis—stole a march and resigned.[1]

With the flight of Lord Powis before his returning friends we may close the story of the "Old Corps of Whigs" of Shropshire and their chief.

To conclude: most of the "Shropshire Gang" for whom Newcastle had so strenuously contended and had exposed himself, because he saw the Whig cause embodied in their persons, finished by joining the Court, and for the very same reason for which Newcastle had championed them—their persons and the advantages they could gain were to them the Whig cause, and practically the only "cause" they knew. The best among them were held back, for a time, by considerations of personal loyalty to Newcastle; but after his death even they joined the Government side, and beginning with 1768 Mr. Weyman, in his studies on Shropshire Members, classifies even the Whitmores[2] and Foresters as "Tories", a term as much misused in that as in the previous reign. Lord North merely carried on under George III a system very similar to that which the Duke of Newcastle had worked for George II, and a good many who had been "Tories" before 1760, became "Whigs" after

[1] Add. MSS. 32967, f. 393.

[2] On October 25, 1771, Sir Thomas Whitmore wrote to Charles Jenkinson, one of the chief managers of the "King's friends" and now a Lord of the Treasury, who was a distant cousin of Lady Whitmore:

"There is, I think, in most men a partiallity imprinted on them, to desire and prefer the good offices of one man in preference to all others. I find at least such a partiallity in my self in regard to you. The regard and friendship I had for your father might probably at first warp me this way, . . . but this I am certain of that you have fixd me unalterably in these sentiments" (Add. MSS. 38469, f. 290).

1760, and *vice versa*. Were it not for the cross-divisions caused by the Church and Dissent one might for that time altogether discard the names of "Whigs" and "Tories" —a truer line of division lay between the Court and the Country party.

VI

THE CORNISH BOROUGHS

VI

THE CORNISH BOROUGHS

There was a peculiar excellence in the Cornish boroughs which makes them worthy of attention, irrelevancy having reached in them its highest development. Here were 21 boroughs returning 42 Members, their total electorate was less than 1400, and its size was anyhow unimportant, as hardly any of the electors ever thought of "politics", certainly not while engaged in election business. These boroughs were nothing but an elaborate and quaint machine for making Members of Parliament. But when one considers what queer methods human beings adopt to please God or to enjoy themselves, why should they be expected to behave differently in choosing a Parliament? One must make up one's mind to look upon Cornish elections in the eighteenth century as an archaic, traditional ritual and a peculiar form of enjoyment, and then they acquire the charm inherent in all human actions when sincere; and there certainly was no humbug about the Cornish boroughs and their way of choosing representatives. These were, on the whole, more closely connected with the Government than in most counties; still, one should not exaggerate the difference. There was, after all, no distinct human species of "Members for Cornish boroughs", and, *e.g.*, six of the 42 returned by them in 1761 at other times represented counties; an honour which was never attained by any of the 10 Members elected by Norfolk boroughs in 1761, or of the 28

elected by Yorkshire boroughs, while in Wiltshire it fell to only one among 32, and he sat in 1761 for Old Sarum. But it is natural that this should have been so; with election business so beautifully simplified as it was in the Cornish boroughs, they were fit to serve as a waiting-room for rising men and as a refuge for those on the downward path; for men as respectable as John Parker, M.P. for Bodmin, 1761–62, and for Devonshire, 1762–84 (when raised to the peerage by the style of Lord Boringdon), and for a scamp as amusing as Edward Wortley Montagu, jun., who, whilst there was hope of redemption, represented the county of Huntingdon, but subsequently was sent down to Bossiney—during the Parliament of 1761–68 he represented it in Turkey, Egypt, Asia Minor, etc.[1]

It so happens that for 1760 we have an electoral survey of the Cornish boroughs by one of the very best local experts. Lord Edgcumbe[2] wrote to the Duke of Newcastle on May 20, 1760:

> In obedience to your Grace's commands I have the honour to lay before you the state of those boroughs in Cornwall wherein I have any concern; but as your Grace, if I understand right, is

[1] On November 5, 1774, after thirteen years of absence from England, which he was never to see again, he wrote to a friend from Venice about the elections in the two constituencies he had once represented: "I am glad that Lord Sandwich will have no trouble in the county. For my part, I am determined not to have any anywhere; for I have given my nephew my borough, and have thanked some of my friends (who would have brought me into Parliament) for their kind intentions—I have had enough of Parliament" (see Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes*, vol. iv. p. 647). The chance of being elected once more may have been, with a man in Edward Wortley Montagu's position, the delusion of one bankrupt morally and financially, or it may have been mere braggadocio. Still, there is something eminently humane in the scope offered for either by Bossiney and its electoral structure.

[2] Richard Edgcumbe (1716–61), M.P. for Plympton, 1742–47, Lostwithiel, 1747–54, and for Penryn, 1754–58, when he succeeded his father as second Lord Edgcumbe.

desirous to know that of Cornwall in general, I write by this post to my steward and manager there, who, being an intelligent man, will . . . make a just representation. . . .[1]

We need not enter here into Edgcumbe's own statement,[2] but can turn at once to the much fuller account given by his agent,[3] which is preserved among the Newcastle Papers and docketed " State of Cornish Burroughs from Lord Edgcumbe ; received June , 1760 ".[4]

Launceston. Mr. Morice's[5] interest seems at present the prevailing one in the burrough for both members.

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[1] Add. MSS. 32906, ff. 184-5. [2] *Ibid.* f. 186.

[3] The name of the agent is not given in this correspondence, but in the accounts of election expenditure at Grampound (see p. 432) he appears as Thomas Jones. On August 27, 1775, the Rev. B. Foster wrote to Richard Gough about Restormel, " the property of the Duchy of Cornwall " : " Thomas Jones, an attorney who died a month ago, held it . . . under a lease for lives. Mr. Masterman, a solicitor in London, and my esquire of Bradoc now has the lease ; he married a niece of the late Mr. Jones " (Nichols, *Literary Illustrations*, vol. v. pp. 861-2). Masterman was associated with Jones in the management of the Edgcumbe interest in Cornish boroughs ; in 1764 he was elected Mayor of Lostwithiel (see *Hist. MSS. Comm., MSS. of Lostwithiel Corporation, Various Collections*, vol. v. p. 337) ; in 1771 he became deputy town clerk and in 1781 town clerk of Tintagel, *alias* Bossiney (see Maclean, *Trigg Minor*, vol. iii. p. 211). In 1774 he appears in the correspondence between Lord North and John Robinson negotiating on behalf of Lord Edgcumbe, the sale of seats to the Treasury (see Laprade, *Parliamentary Papers of John Robinson*, p. 26), and, as it so often happened in the second generation of borough managers, he finished by being himself returned to Parliament—for Bodmin in 1780. In the Fifth Report of the *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, among the *Lansdowne MSS.* (p. 257) the following work is mentioned : " Mr. W. Masterman's compendium of the rights and privileges or mode of election of Members to serve in Parliament, drawn alphabetically in tabular form with an abstract of the gradual alterations in representation."

[4] Add. MSS. 32907, ff. 461-2. The figure which stood for the day has been erased.

[5] Humphrey Morice (1723–85), M.P. for Launceston, 1750–80 ; inherited the Werrington estate and the two boroughs of Launceston

Sir John St. Aubyn [1] hath many friends in the town but in appearance he declines being further concern'd. The Duke of Bedford hath also some friends there. A junction of those gentlemen might give Mr. Morice's interest a great shock if not entirely overturn it.

Newport. This burrough elects by owners of burgage tenures and scot and lot men. Mr. Morice is lord of the burrough, has the nomination of the Returning Officer and the greatest part of the houses are his. So that his interest is certainly very strong. The Duke of Bedford is a considerable landholder in the town and can always poll a great many votes but probably not enough to carry an election against Mr. Morice assisted by the Returning Officer.

Camelford. Mr. Martyn,[2] one of the present Members, seems to have acquired some personal interest in the burrough. But Mr. Phillipps [3] has the principal influence over the votes, who are generally a low set of people and depute him to make terms for them. The Duke of Bedford has the largest property in the town and of course if he attacks the burrough will be supported by many of his tenants, but 'tis much to be doubted whether his Grace cou'd make himself strong enough to carry his point against Mr. Phillipps and almost the whole Bench.

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and Newport from his second cousin, Sir William Morice, third and last Bart. Catherine, daughter of Sir Nicholas Morice, second Bart., and sister of Sir William Morice, married Sir John St. Aubyn, third Bart. Their son was Sir John St. Aubyn, fourth Bart., mentioned below.

[1] Sir John St. Aubyn, fourth Bart. (1726–72), M.P. for Launceston, 1747–54 and 1758–59 (when unseated on petition), and for Cornwall from 1761 till his death in 1772. Of his sisters, one married John Buller, M.P. for East Looe, 1747–86; another, F. Basset, M.P. for Penryn, 1766–69; a third, Sir John Molesworth, M.P. for Cornwall, 1765–1775.

[2] Samuel Martin (1714–88), a West Indian and brother of Joseph Martin, Governor of North Carolina; Joint Secretary to the Treasury, 1758–63; M.P. for Camelford, 1747–68, and for Hastings, 1768–74.

[3] Charles Phillips (1720–74), M.P. for Camelford, 1768–74; about him see pp. 417-23.

Tintagell [*Bossiney*]. Mr. Wortley[1] is promised his man by a great majority of electors. The other is intended to be put up to the best bidder. But with proper means used, there is a good chance of securing this burrough in the interest of Lord Edgcumbe and Mr. Wortley. Tho' in any event, an adventurer will find encouragement.

Saltash. Mr. Cleveland[2] has in appearance this burrough very secure in the Admiralty or Navy interest.

Callington. Lady Orford[3] has this burrough without any opposition. There have been several attempts to elect a Member here against her Ladyship's family interest, but without success.

St. Germans. Mr. Eliot.[4]

Liskeard. Mr. Eliot rules there at present tho' probably his interest is not so firmly established as to be impregnable from every quarter.

East Looe. } Mr. John Buller[5] manages these burroughs for
West Looe. } the Administration and himself and the interest seems well settled in that channell.

Lostwithiel. Lord Edgcumbe.

Fowey. Lord Edgcumbe and Mr. Rashleigh.[6]

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[1] Edward Wortley Montagu, sen., M.P. for Westminster, 1715–22; Huntingdon, 1722–34; and for Peterborough from 1734 till his death in January 1761. He was the father of Edward Wortley Montagu, jun., M.P. for Hunts, 1747–54, and for Bossiney, 1754–68, and of Lady Bute, to whom he bequeathed his enormous fortune.

[2] John Clevland (1706–63), Secretary to the Admiralty; on him see pp. 51-3.

[3] Margaret, daughter and heiress of Samuel Rolle, M.P. for Callington from 1702 till his death in 1719; her maternal grandfather was Roger Tuckfield, M.P. for Ashburton, 1708–9 and 1713–39. From them she inherited Parliamentary influence in the two boroughs. She married in 1727 Robert Walpole, subsequently second Earl of Orford; he died in 1751.

[4] Edward Eliot, of Port Eliot (1727–1804), M.P. for St. Germans, 1748–68 and 1774–75; for Liskeard, 1768–77; for Cornwall, 1775–84, when he was made a peer (Baron Eliot).

[5] John Buller (1721–86), M.P. for East Looe, 1747–86; on him see pp. 398-414.

[6] Jonathan Rashleigh (1693-1764), M.P. for Fowey, 1727-64; about his family see pp. 392-3.

Bodmyn. Mr. Hunt[1] and Sir William Irby.[2]

Mr. Hunt hath met with great difficulties of late and 'tis still a question whether his interest is well established. The town in general seems better disposed toward Sir William Irby than Mr. Hunt, but I think no adventurer cou'd prevail unless Sir William joined him, or at least stood newter.

Tregony. Lord Falmouth[3] and Mr. Trevanion[4] have a very strong interest in this burrough. But my Lord's interest singly is by much the best. There are always a large number of votes (who are pot boilers) ready to receive any adventurer whatever who will bring them money.

Grampound. In its present situation is very open to an attack but as the Bench have (at the law courts held within a month of Michaelmas and Easter) a power of increasing the number of freemen and as the Bench have very perfidiously left Lord Edgcumbe and attached themselves to Mr. Elliot and Mr. Trevanion—there is no doubt but that they will at the next Michaelmas court, endeavour to make themselves strong enough to carry their point at the general election tho' they can in no event be secure against candidates with heavy purses.

St. Maws. Lord Falmouth and Mr. Nugent,[5] but the latter is Lord of the Burrough and makes the Returning Officer and thereby has the strongest and most secure interest.

Penryn. Lord Falmouth and Lord Edgcumbe joined have the burrough very secure. But disunited Lord Edgcumbe would be sure of his man and Lord Falmouth as sure of being disappointed.

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[1] George Hunt (1720-98), M.P. for Bodmin, 1753–84; his mother was Lady Mary Robartes, sister and heiress of Henry, third Earl of Radnor; it is from the Robartes family that Hunt inherited the electoral interest at Bodmin.

[2] Sir William Irby, second Bart. (1707–75), M.P. for Launceston, 1735–47, and for Bodmin, 1747–61, when he was created Lord Boston.

[3] Hugh (Boscawen), second Viscount Falmouth (1707–82), M.P. for Truro, 1727–34, when he succeeded to the peerage.

[4] William Trevanion (1728–67), M.P. for Tregony, 1747–67.

[5] Robert Nugent (1702–88), of Irish extraction, inherited this borough from his first wife, daughter and co-heiress of James Craggs, M.P., P.M.G. Nugent sat for St. Mawes, 1741–54 and 1774–84, and for Bristol, 1754–74. He was created Viscount Clare [Ir.] in 1767, and Earl Nugent in 1776.

Mr. Basset,[1] a neighbouring gentleman and a considerable landowner in the town, has been talked of for a candidate, but at present there is not much probability that he will meddle—and this is a burrough where a foreign adventurer would meet with very little encouragement of chance or success.

Helston. Lord Godolphin.[2]

St. Ives. By the late junction of Lord Buckingham[3] and Mr. Stephens,[4] their interest seems pretty well secured, tho' Mr. Praed[5] has a strong party in the town and pushes his interest. The Duke of Bolton[6] has also some pretentions. But it does not seem probable that his Grace and Mr. Praed joined to any other interest which can be made wou'd be a match for Lord Buckingham and Mr. Stephens.

Truro. Lord Falmouth.

Mitchell. The Superior Lord on whose favor the interest of this borough will always depend is Lord Arundell of Wardour.[7] The five under Lords are Lord Edgcumbe, Admiral Boscawen,[8] Sir

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[1] Francis Basset (1715-69), M.P. for Penryn, 1766-69; about him see pp. 380-91.

[2] Francis, second Earl of Godolphin (1678–1766), M.P. for Helston, 1701–8; for other constituencies, 1708–12, when, on the death of his father, the famous statesman, he succeeded to the peerage.

[3] John (Hobart), second Earl of Buckinghamshire (1723–93), M.P. for Norwich, 1747–56, when he succeeded to the peerage.

[4] John Stephens " for many years was agent for the Duke [should be Earl] of Buckingham in managing the political affairs of the borough of St. Ives, but at last broke off the connexion by obtaining the return of his own son in 1751 " (G. C. Boase, *Collectanea Cornubiensia* (1890), p. 927). Samuel Stephens sat for St. Ives, 1751–54, and contested it unsuccessfully in 1774 and 1775.

[5] Humphrey Mackworth Praed (1719–1803), M.P. for St. Ives, 1761–68; for Cornwall, 1772–74.

[6] Charles (Powlett), fifth Duke of Bolton, (1718–65), M.P. for Lymington, 1741–54, and for Hants, 1754–59, when he succeeded to the peerage.

[7] Henry, eighth Baron Arundell of Wardour (1740–1808); a Roman Catholic; took no part in politics.

[8] Edward Boscawen (1711–61), brother of Hugh, second Viscount Falmouth; Admiral of the Blue; M.P. for Truro, 1742–61.

Richard Vyvyan,[1] Mr. Courteney,[2] and Mr. Scawen,[3] one of whom must at Lord Arundell's Court be chosen Portreive and Returning Officer for the burrough. The Members are chosen by the inhabitants paying scot and lot—who being in general low, indigent people, will join such of the under Lords from whom they have reason to expect most money and favours. Admiral Boscawen either has purchased or is in treaty for Sir Richard Vyvyan's Lordship, and by purchasing several other lands and tenements which make votes, by supplying some of the voters with money and conferring favours on others, seems to be adding very considerably to the strength of his interest. Mr. Courteney's interest is supported by his kinsman's, Mr. Williams,[4] a gentleman who lives near the town and hath a considerable influence over many of the voters.

Of these boroughs I now propose to take six (Penryn, Fowey, East and West Looe, Camelford, and Grampound) as examples, and deal with their electoral structure, their representatives and their "politics". But one general point should first be noted: that in Cornwall, as in some other counties, there was at that time a peculiar tacit understanding of mutual forbearance between the "Tory" Members and electorate in the county, and the "Whig"

[1] Sir Richard Vyvian, fifth Bart. (1731–81).

[2] Captain Charles Courtenay (killed in Germany in 1761) was the only son of Kelland Courtenay (M.P. for Huntingdon from 1747 till his death in 1748), by Elizabeth, sister of John, fourth Earl of Sandwich. In Collins's *Peerage of England* and various works which copy from it, his father is described as "second son of Sir William Courtenay, of Powderham castle in Devonshire", which is wrong; he was of the Courtenays of Tremere.

[3] James Scawen (1734–1801), M.P. for St. Michael, 1761–74; for Surrey, 1774–80.

[4] Probably Courtenay Williams of Trewithan, "who is said to have dissipated a handsome fortune by indulging himself in low pursuits and in low company, and especially by maintaining a set of people to accompany him from parish to parish, for (what seems quite ludicrous in present times) the purpose of ringing the bells . . ." (D. Gilbert, *op. cit.*, vol. iii. p. 367).

managers in the boroughs.[1] When in September 1760 Admiral Boscawen thought of offering himself as candidate for the county of Cornwall, Edgcumbe reminded Newcastle of the line Mr. Pelham and Sir Robert Walpole had taken on similar occasions, and warned against "setting up a new party interest (as lately in Oxfordshire)";[2] but as Admiral Boscawen insisted on standing (he died, however, before the general election) and Newcastle saw no way of refusing support to a man of his rank, merit, and family,[3] Edgcumbe acknowledged that he too would have to give his interest to the Admiral, though he was sorry to be "call'd upon for it", as such a contest, by provoking the Tories, "must draw on many disagreable consequences to us who live in the county, and who are concern'd in boroughs".[4]

[1] For such a tacit understanding in Shropshire, see p. 298. In Oxfordshire during the general election of 1754, Lord Guilford (the father of Lord North), though a strong Whig, refused to embark whole-heartedly in the Whig cause, for fear of the Tory gentlemen, and especially Sir James Dashwood, one of the Tory candidates, retaliating in his own borough of Banbury. In November 1752, in a letter to Sanderson Miller (a friend of the Whig candidate, Sir E. Turner), Lord Guilford declared that he had little "interest" in the county—"I never wished for it nor endeavoured to cultivate it, lest it should occasion me any embarassment in my Banbury affairs" (see Dickins and Stanton, *An Eighteenth-Century Correspondence* (1910), p. 206). And on November 8: "My principal attention must always be to the Corporation of Banbury. Those Sir Edward has greatly disgusted . . . and many of them have a personal regard, and some, great obligations to Sir James Dashwood who has an estate in and near the town, and has not attempted to do me any ill office there" (*ibid.* pp. 207-8). The thing by which Turner had "disgusted" the townspeople of Banbury was not, however, his politics, but his having closed their markets and slaughtered cattle to stamp out an outbreak of the foot-and-mouth disease.

[2] September 28, 1760; Add. MSS. 32912, f. 195.

[3] Newcastle to Edgcumbe, October 2, 1760; *ibid.* f. 297.

[4] Edgcumbe to Newcastle, October 12, 1760; Add. MSS. 32913, ff. 75-6.

Penryn

Penryn had a wide franchise—inhabitants paying scot and lot; and, as Cornish boroughs went, a large electorate—in the eighteenth century 130-200 voters, and by 1831, over 500. During the thirty years preceding the first Reform Act it became notorious for its corruption, because this came to be practised without the intervention of titled borough-brokers and the Treasury; but in the reign of George II the borough was still eminently genteel.

The two most prominent election managers in Cornwall, Lord Edgcumbe and Lord Falmouth, were its established patrons, and Richard Edgcumbe and George Boscawen were returned for Penryn in 1754. The borough valued itself "upon having had representatives of name and note", and when in 1758 Richard Edgcumbe succeeded to the peerage, he suggested to the Duke of Newcastle a candidate for Penryn connected by marriage "both to Lord Falmouth's family and to ours"; ". . . our interest in that borough is joint, and I hope will ever continue so. . . ." As to an opposition, it "has been threaten'd openly by a very potent man, Mr. Basset, at the next general election, tho' by what I am assured, he has no intention of stirring now".[1] The Duke of Newcastle replied on November 25: "The King order'd me . . . to thank your Lordship for your intention to recommend to Penryn such person as His Majesty should desire";[2] and as the candidate suggested by Edgcumbe had meantime been elected elsewhere, Newcastle, "with the King's approbation",[3] recommended John Plumptre, a perfect

[1] Lord Edgcumbe to the Duke of Newcastle, November 22, 1758; Add. MSS. 32885, ff. 500-1.

[2] Add. MSS. 32886, f. 13. The use of the King's name was not a mere form; George II took a personal interest in elections, which it is important to note in view of all that is written about the "great change" which supervened on the accession of George III.

[3] The Duke of Newcastle to John Plumptre, November 25, 1758; Add. MSS. 32886, f. 17.

stranger to Penryn, who was, however, duly returned through the influence of the two patrons.

In 1760 Lord Edgcumbe's steward thought that there was " not much probability " of Basset meddling this time in the election—but he did, putting up George Clive, a cousin of the famous Clive,[1] and Edward Maskelyne, Clive's brother-in-law, against Admiral Rodney and Sir Edward Turner, Bart., the candidates on the Edgcumbe-Falmouth interest, who had made for Penryn, as in a game of musical chairs, and just escaped being left without seats.

George Brydges Rodney had first entered Parliament in 1751, at a by-election for the Admiralty borough of Saltash. At the general election of 1754 he was left out in the cold by the Government and unsuccessfully contested Camelford against its candidates,[2] but at a by-election in 1758 was returned by Newcastle for Okehampton. On December 2, 1759, Admiral Rodney wrote to him from Spithead :

> I beg your Grace will permit me to return you my most sincere thanks for the honour you have bestow'd on me in chusing me a Member of Parliament for Oakhampton ; a steady adherence to your Grace's commands shall ever distinguish me while I have a seat in the House.[3]

At a by-election in December 1756, during a short break in Lord Anson's eleven years at the head of the

[1] In Henry Stooks Smith, *The Parliaments of England*, Robert Clive is named as the opposition candidate for Penryn. In reality it was a cousin of his, most probably George Clive, whom in 1763 he returned for Bishop's Castle.

[2] " As to Captain Rodney," wrote Hardwicke to Newcastle on April 19, 1754, " Lord Anson desires me to acquaint your Grace, that he never heard of his intention to stand at Camelford, and is much surprised at it. It is true he is a captain in half pay, but has a very good fortune of his own ; and having formerly offered to come in at one of the Court boroughs at his own expence, may possibly be a little piqued " (Add. MSS. 32735, f. 104). See also p. 417.

[3] Add. MSS. 32899, ff. 266-7.

Admiralty, Charles Townshend was returned for Saltash. But at the general election of 1761 both seats in that borough were filled with regular Anson candidates, and Charles Townshend had to go in search of another constituency. After peregrinations, amusing and turbulent like most of Charles Townshend's life, he was finally, at George III's express demand, accommodated by the Duke of Newcastle at Harwich.[1] Wenman Coke, displaced from Harwich, was transferred by Newcastle to Okehampton; and on February 27, 1761, Rodney addressed the following desperate letter to James West, Secretary to the Treasury:

> A letter I received by last night's post has given me inexpressible concern. Mr. Andrews [2] acquaints me therein that he had received the Duke of N—e's commands, that Mr. Wenman Coke was to be chose at Okehampton on Mr. Thomas Pitt's interest. For God's sake Sir what have I done to gain his Grace's displeasure, you know full well, Sir, that it was to serve him that I came into Parliament, and was desirous to continue on no other foundation.
>
> I must entreat you Sir, to represent my case in the humblest manner to his Grace and beg of him not to let me suffer in the eye of the publick, as a person obnoxious to him, and unworthy his protection, which I shall infallably do, unless his Grace vouchsafes to let me have a seat in Parliament, by his influence.
>
> Your mind, Sir, must dictate what I at present feel, better than my words can express it. . . .[3]

As a matter of fact, it had never been Newcastle's intention to drop Rodney, and in the list of candidates, on February 17, his name had been tentatively put against Portsmouth; on February 28, against Penryn, with Portsmouth as possible alternative. Finally, he was nominated for Penryn on Lord Edgcumbe's interest. He may possibly have had also some support from the late

[1] See pp. 453-6.

[2] Robert Andrews, Government manager of Thomas Pitt's Parliamentary interest; about him see pp. 74 and 428-30.

[3] Add. MSS. 32919, f. 324.

Leicester House set gathered round Bute; for Lord Carnarvon, the son of the Duke of Chandos, was its leading wire-puller in elections, and Rodney was a distant kinsman and godson of Chandos.[1]

Sir Edward Turner, second Baronet, was the son and heir of Sir Edward Turner, first Baronet, a merchant [2] and at one time Chairman of the East India Company, by Mary, daughter and sole heiress of Sir Gregory Page, Bart., M.P., another Director of the East India Company. Consequently he was a country gentleman of recent date and very considerable wealth.[3] In 1754 he and Lord Parker, the son of the Earl of Macclesfield, were the Whig candidates in the famous Oxfordshire election; their Tory opponents, Lord Wenman and Sir James Dashwood, Bart., were returned by a majority of about 100 votes on a total poll of nearly 4000, but on petition were unseated in favour of the Whigs by a party vote in the House of Commons. The expense of the election and of the subsequent petition was indeed prodigious. Henry Pelham, "with the King's consent and knowledge", had promised Lord Macclesfield £7000 "to support the necessary expenses".[4] On the Tory side the total expenditure amounted to £20,068 : 1 : 2,[5] and a public subscription was opened to defend the rights of the freeholders and "the freedom of election in the county

[1] Rodney's father, through Chandos's interest, had the command of the royal yacht under George I, and the King and Chandos stood sponsors to the future admiral, who was named after them George Brydges; see Mundy, *Life and Correspondence of Admiral Lord Rodney* (1830), p. 36.

[2] According to Dickins and Stanton, *An Eighteenth-Century Correspondence*, p. 201, Turner's father was originally a brewer.

[3] In a list of shareholders of the East India Company, whom in May 1763 Lord Clive asked the Duke of Newcastle to canvass on his behalf before the election of directors, Sir Edward Turner appears as holder of £28,500 of stock (presumably nominal value). He is, in fact, the largest holder in that list. (See Add. MSS. 32948, f. 335.)

[4] See pp. 246-7 and 249, *n.*[8].

[5] See James Townsend, *The Oxfordshire Dashwoods* (1922), p. 28.

of Oxford ". Independent country gentlemen from all over England contributed to the fund, and the first list, preserved in the Newcastle Papers, yields a sum of £4235 : 10s.;[1] the total subscribed was ultimately £8595 : 10s.[2] Francis Basset, in 1761 the opposition patron at Penryn, was one of the trustees of this Tory fund, and himself subscribed to it £300.

A contest of this kind was hardly ever repeated in the same county at consecutive elections, financial exhaustion rendering both sides favourable to a compromise. I am not acquainted with the course of the negotiations for the Oxfordshire compromise in 1760 ; all my information about them I derive from a letter from Lord Talbot to Lord Bute, dated " Wednesday morning " and docketed " November 1760 ". Talbot mentions in it that Lord Lichfield (a leading Oxfordshire Tory) had told him about Bute's intention " to prevail upon Ld. Abingdon to agree to the Oxfordshire compromise ", and he adds : " possibly you may not know, that the chief Whigs in that county are so incensed by the unconcerted conduct of the Marlbro family relatively to election affairs, that it is probable they would prefer a Tory to Ld. C. Spencer ".[3] The terms of the compromise can be gathered from subsequent events. Sir James Dashwood, a Tory candidate in 1754 (and a second cousin of Sir Francis Dashwood, one of Bute's chief followers), and Lord Charles Spencer, brother of the Duke of Marlborough, were returned unopposed, whilst the two Whig members who had represented the county at the dissolution were taken care of by George III.

On January 19, 1761, Bute informed Newcastle that " Lord Falmouth had offered the King three members ",[4] but did not tell him the King's answer. Lord Falmouth,

[1] Add. MSS. 33055, f. 81. [2] Townsend, *op. cit.* p. 28.

[3] Bute MSS.

[4] Newcastle to Hardwicke, January 19, 1761 ; Add. MSS. 35420, ff. 166-7.

in 1761, returned his brothers, John and George Boscawen, for the family borough of Truro ; and for the other three seats, at Tregony, St. Mawes, and Penryn, was obviously prepared to accept the King's nominees. I possess no information as to how his Members for Tregony and St. Mawes were selected in 1761 ; but Richard Hussey, the Member for Tregony, was obviously the choice of Falmouth himself—he was the son of the town clerk of Truro and had been the Falmouth candidate at St. Michael in 1754 ; whilst the Falmouth Member for St. Mawes, Abraham Hume, a big London merchant, looks, on the face of it, very much like a paying guest. At Penryn, however, Sir Edward Turner was put up by the wish of the King, who similarly provided for Lord Parker at the Admiralty borough of Rochester.[1] George III and Bute are usually described as inclined to the Tories, though in reality they indiscriminately favoured men whom they expected to adhere to them independently of, and even against, Newcastle and Pitt ; but they certainly had no predilection for those chosen by George II. Still, the two Whigs of Oxfordshire fame, financed in 1754 " with the King's consent and knowledge ", now appeared and succeeded under their auspices. Sir Edward Turner henceforth seems to have been considered as belonging to Bute, and is marked as such in the list of the House of Commons compiled for him in December 1761,[2] and even at

[1] See letter from Newcastle to Hardwicke, January 19, 1761 : " His Lordship [Bute] told my Lord Anson that my Lord Parker had been with him and he thought my Lord Parker should be brought into Parliament and asked whether that could not be in some Admiralty borough " (Add. MSS. 35420, ff. 166-7) ; also Dodington's " Diary " under February 2, 1761 : " Lord Bute . . . had told Anson, that room must be made for Lord Parker ". Parker was one of the three candidates of the King whose names were given to Newcastle by Bute on February 4.

[2] See Add. MSS. 38333, f. 77. In the same list Rodney is marked " Admiralty and Bute ".

that time Newcastle, though still co-operating with Bute, did not send Turner his circular letter at the opening of the session; whilst nothing can be said about Rodney's position with regard to the circular letter, as he was absent on active service.[1] After Newcastle's break with Bute, Turner was always classed by Newcastle as doubtful or as an opponent; and in none of the important divisions is he found voting any more with Newcastle's friends.

The personnel on the opposition side at Penryn completes the picture of the confusion, or rather of the absence, of party lines. Francis Basset, of Tehidy, was a Tory by tradition, estate, and connexions. He was, through his mother, a great-nephew and the heir of Alexander Pendarves (the first husband of the tiresome Mrs. Delany),[2] who had represented Penryn in nine Parliaments between the Revolution and the accession of George I. In 1756 Francis Basset married Margaret, a sister of Sir John St. Aubyn, fourth Bart., who in 1761 was returned as a Tory for the county of Cornwall. For some unknown reason, in 1761 he did not stand for Penryn himself, but put up two candidates nominated and financed by Robert Clive.[3]

[1] On October 6, 1761, Rodney "hoisted his flag on board the *Marlborough*, having been appointed Commander-in-Chief at Barbadoes and the Leeward Islands" (Mundy, *op. cit.* p. 67).

[2] It may be noticed that I use this adjective whenever Mrs. Delany or Mrs. Elizabeth Montagu is mentioned. It is an appropriate and well-deserved *epitheton ornans*.

[3] The Clives seem to have had some connexion with Cornwall. Davies Gilbert writes in his *Parochial History of Cornwall* (vol. iii. p. 94): "Penzance may justly be proud of the many distinguished families and individuals connected with it: Clive . . ."; but he does not state the nature of the connexion. Sir Edward Clive, a first cousin of Robert Clive's father, was returned for St. Michael in 1741, and Robert Clive himself contested the borough in 1754. With regard to the latter election, Gilbert writes (*op. cit.*, vol. i. p. 390): "It used to be said, that Colonel Clive spent so much money in a contest for this place as to occasion his return to India, where he gained the battle of Plassey, and established the Eastern Empire".

Bute and his friends were obviously anxious about Turner's chance against the Basset-Clive combination, and on February 26, 1761, Bute received the following note from Sir Harry Erskine, one of his election managers :

> Lord Powis is the person who has the most influence with Mr. Clive. Perhaps Mr. Clive might drop his attack upon the Falmouth family, if he knew that his Lordship had made a present of his borough interest to His Majesty. Mr. Clive is Lord Powis's election bull-dog ; and the master can certainly call him off.[1]

Nothing apparently was effected by this means, and the help of Lord Hardwicke was next invoked [2]—Hardwicke had been a friend of Sir Edward Clive whom he had made a judge, and in the struggle over the St. Michael petition of 1754 he had favoured Robert Clive, although Newcastle from the very outset inclined to the other side. Hardwicke wrote to Bute on March 4, 1761 :

> . . . Col. Clive call'd upon me this morning to give me his answer. He acquainted me that his two friends, who stand at Penryn, are his brother in law, Mr. Maskelyne, and Mr. Clive, a cosin of his. That they stand merely upon the interest of Mr. Basset, a gentleman of a very great estate in that County, and that the sum, which each of them has deposited, is £2,000, the current price of the times. He read me part of a letter from Mr. Basset, wherein he says, that he is ready to accept Sir Edward Turner in the room of one of those gentlemen, provided he will stand upon his, Mr Basset's interest, and agree to the same terms. Col. Clive, who had some obligations to me at the election of this Parliament [*i.e.* of 1754], assur'd me that he is ready to facilitate this scheme by inducing one of his two friends to withdraw, which he believes must be Mr. Maskeline, his

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[1] Bute MSS.

[2] There is among the Bute MSS. a letter from Sir Edward Turner to Lord Bute dated March 2, 1761, and asking for an opportunity to thank Lord Bute " for the message he was pleased to send him by Lord Carnarvon ". The nature of the message is not indicated, and nothing more is said about it in the extant correspondence between Bute and Carnarvon.

wife's brother, provided Sir Edward will come into the terms, and reimburse him the deposit, which he has made. This is the whole of what Col. Clive communicated to me.[1]

Bute replied the same night :

I have the honor of your Lordship's letter, and cant go to bed without returning a thousand thanks for the very friendly part you have taken in the business of Penryn, and making my excuse for the trouble I have given ; Ld. Falmouth told me to day, that it was a false allarm, but I see plainly his Lordship will find it a very serious one ; and I begin to be in great pain for Sir Edward Turner ; who was to have come in at Penryn on the Falmouth interest ; . . .[2]

The next morning, at 10.30, Hardwicke wrote again to Bute :

I this moment receiv'd the inclosed from Col: Clive, which I think it my duty to communicate to you. If Sir Edward Turner is to be declar'd one of the candidates, I suppose it will be necessary for him to comply with *this request* at the proper time ; but that this intention of the candidates going down to the Borough ought not, in point of honour, to be disclosed to the adverse party. From your Lordship's letter, I apprehend the difficulty will be in Sir Edward's quitting Lord Falmouth's interest to stand upon Mr. Basset's ; which, according to their proposition, I presume he must do. I happen to know that Mr. Basset has a great estate, and is full of money, from copper-mines, discover'd and work'd upon his estate, not many years ago. Under these circumstances, I doubt he will not be induc'd to let in a candidate upon Lord Falmouth's interest, which may occasion an expensive and troublesome contest ; but of this I cannot pretend to judge. Your Lordship observes that Colonel Clive presses for an answer.[3]

The following letter, which does not name the person to whom it was addressed, but is dated " Berkeley Square, March 5, 1761 ", is obviously the enclosure mentioned above :

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[1] Bute MSS.

[2] Hardwicke Papers ; Add. MSS. 35423, f. 260.

[3] Bute MSS.

Last night I receivd an express desiring the candidates might set out for Penryn as soon as possible, if your Lordship will be so kind as to inform me what hath been done,

you will oblige him who has the honor to be &c.[1]

No compromise was reached and the struggle continued. On March 25 Lord Falmouth and George Edgcumbe, brother of Lord Edgcumbe, wrote a joint letter from Penryn to the Duke of Newcastle :

Notwithstanding Mr. West's letter signifying your Grace's great desire for our success, on our arrival here we find our opponents have given out and even read a forged letter to poison the minds of the people, making them believe they have your favor, by which means they have drawn aside several Customhouse officers. We must therefore request your Grace to make an example of one, by name, Charles Robins, tidesman etc., in the Port of Falmouth, and that his dismission may be sent here express to arrive before the election which may have a proper effect on the others, and contribute to our success. We must again desire this may be imediately done. . . .[2]

To support this request, Admiral Rodney himself wrote to Newcastle on the same day from Penryn :

I must beg leave to lay before your Grace the present situation of affairs at this place where I arrived on Sunday last [March 22] and have in company with Lord Falmouth and Mr. Edgcumbe canvassed the town.

We find at presant but a small majority owing to the defection of several officers in the Customs and Salt Office, both here and at Falmouth, as likewise two men belonging to the packquetts, who are all obstinate in the opposition, the agents of the other party having had the presumption to read a letter as from your Grace, which has deluded these people so much, that Mr. West's letter signifying your Grace's pleasure, had not the least effect. I must therefore joyn with Lord Falmouth and Mr. Edgcumbe for the dismission of

[1] Musgrave Papers, Add. MSS. 5726 B. f. 18 and C. 141 ; as Sir William Musgrave used these letters for his collection of autographs, the signature is cut off from the text and pasted into another volume.

[2] Add. MSS. 32921, ff. 49-50.

one Charles Robbins, a tydesman etc., at Falmouth, which may have the desired effect on the other officers.

I must now take the liberty to point out to your Grace a measure which I am sure will infallibly secure the election, and which I most earnestly intreat may take place immediately, as it will convince the people in general (whose minds have been poison'd with different notions) that I have the honour to be nominated by your Grace as a candidate.

Capt. Peard of the Savage sloop of war, a freeman of this town, whose friends have great influence, has been offer'd by the adversarys a bond of one thousand pound, and that they will procure him a post ship ; he has resisted the temptation and continues firm.

If your Grace will make it a point, that it may appear here, before the election that Captain Peard has post, I am sure all difficultys will be removed ; my ship the Marlborough has no captain appointed as yet.[1]

The poll was taken on April 4, and the result announced to Bute by Falmouth in the following letter,[2] expressive in its lack of grammar and coherence :

I have the satisfaction to acquaint you, all is over where I have been concerned with success here unanimously by the Magistrately and the Commonalty.

Turner and Rodney . .	68.
Clive	63.
Masculine	61.

I have the honor to be My Lord
Yr. Lordship's etc.

This place has been expensive.

It was the last time that a Falmouth candidate succeeded at Penryn ; on the death of Sir Edward Turner, in 1766, Francis Basset was returned in his place, and until 1802 the Basset influence remained predominant in the borough.

The Penryn election of 1761, with all that lies behind it, well illustrates the purely personal character of politics

[1] Add. MSS. 32921, ff. 51-2.

[2] Bute MSS.

at that time, parties, if ever mentioned, appearing merely as combinations of men with no definite principles to bind or divide them. The Oxfordshire election of 1754 was still fought, in appearance, on strict party lines, in a county where, under the influence of the University, high Toryism had continued an ideological existence longer than in most parts of the country. But in 1760 the traditional leader of the Whigs in Oxfordshire, the Duke of Marlborough, concluded a compromise with the Tories, apparently without consulting the party, which incensed them so much that they would now, it was reported, have preferred even a second Tory to the Duke's brother—the "connexion" had been disregarded, and principles there were none by now on either side. Next, the late Whig champion, Sir Edward Turner, was put up by directions from the King and Lord Bute, supposed to favour the Tories, for a seat which Lord Falmouth, an election manager who had served Sir Robert Walpole and the Pelhams, had offered to the new Court in his eagerness, as Lord Hardwicke put it, to worship the rising sun. Francis Basset, a Tory who, according to the usual story in the textbooks, ought to have thrown himself with joy at the feet of George III, paid no regard to the change in the person of the sovereign, but quietly went on with the contest against the Falmouth interest, as he had planned before George II's death. For his candidates he chose men connected with one of the strongest Whig groups in England, whose leader, Lord Powis, was already busy getting into favour with the new Court. During the negotiations for a compromise, carried on through Lord Hardwicke, naturally not a word was said about practically non-existent parties and principles, and the only banners were those of Falmouth and Basset—if Turner had been prepared to stand as a Basset candidate, he would have been accepted without a thought of this implying anything as to connexions or action at Westminster. And before the year

was out, Robert Clive, who had given all this trouble both to Newcastle and Bute, was made an Irish peer, probably not so much because of his great achievements in India, as for fear that otherwise he, together with his father, who sat for Montgomery, and his relative John Walsh, M.P. for Worcester, might be induced to join Pitt.

Fowey

Against Fowey Lord Edgcumbe's steward briefly put the names of "Lord Edgcumbe and Mr. Rashleigh", and refrained from entering into details. Indeed, the election law of that borough was such that even then it required a Cornish attorney to understand it and numerous Parliamentary committees to declare it. Suffice it therefore to state that according to the last determination of May 5, 1701, the right of electing the Members for Fowey was "in the Prince's tenants . . . capable of being portreves of the said borough, and in such inhabitants . . . only as pay scot and lot"; "the Prince's tenants" being defined "to be such as have been duly admitted upon the court-rolls of the manor, and have done their fealty".[1] The size of this electorate, because of differences in interpretation which resulted in the creating or disfranchising of voters, varied in the eighteenth century between 40 and 100.

The "Prince's tenants" resembled "burgagees", and even in 1571, when, after an interval of 230 years, the Parliamentary representation of Fowey was revived, of 31 holdings which carried votes, 12 belonged to the Rashleigh family; in 1650, 15. "From 1728 to 1817", writes E. W. Rashleigh, "the borough was completely a pocket borough of the Rashleigh family",[2] which statement is

[1] See Oldfield, *The Representative History of Great Britain and Ireland* (1816), vol. iii. p. 206.

[2] *A Short History of the Town and Borough of Fowey* (1887), p. 30.

more or less correct in so far as one seat was concerned. For during that period Fowey was really under the management of the Rashleighs and the Edgcumbes, a combination specially interesting prior to 1761, when the Rashleighs were Tories and the Edgcumbes the most faithful borough managers of Sir Robert Walpole and the Pelhams. Presumably the freehold votes were the Rashleigh contribution to the common stock, whilst the Edgcumbes, supported by the Government, had to look after the inhabitants paying scot and lot.

The Rashleigh family, who had settled at Fowey in the reign of Henry VIII and had first represented it in Parliament in 1588, did not go to market with the seat under their control, and in Parliament were independent and did not hunt for places and pensions. Jonathan Rashleigh, M.P. for Fowey from 1727 till his death in 1764, was the sixth of the family to represent it; he was succeeded by his son Philip Rashleigh, a famous mineralogist and antiquary, who sat for it till 1802—father and son making up between them seventy-five years of continuous representation. The other seat was held from 1746 till May 1761 by Captain George Edgcumbe, R.N., a younger son of the first Lord Edgcumbe, who, on the death of his brother in 1761, succeeded to the peerage and the management of the Parliamentary interest of his family in Cornwall. From now onwards the Edgcumbe seat at Fowey was in the market. I have no certain information concerning the sum paid for it at the by-election in December 1761, when Captain R. Boyle Walsingham, R.N., was returned by Lord Edgcumbe at the recommendation of the Duke of Newcastle;[1] or in 1768, when James Mody-

[1] The Duke of Newcastle first meant to put up for it Rawlinson Earle, an official of the Ordnance, who had contested Cricklade at the general election, and, after having "spent near £5000", was defeated by Arnold Nesbitt, a London merchant and an insubordinate dependant of Newcastle's (Add. MSS. 32935, f. 402). Newcastle was now deter-

ford Heywood (descended from the Modyfords and Heywoods of Jamaica) was elected. In 1774, £3000 were demanded by Lord Edgcumbe and probably paid by the Government.[1] In 1780 and 1784 the Government paid for its nominees the price of £3000, by that time customary.[2]

The marketing of Fowey was no more distinctive than its price. But its hybrid franchise resulted in some interesting attempts to establish electoral control in the constituency, at one time by reducing, and at another by building up the borough. When, under William and Mary, a new Corporation was established at Fowey, consisting of 14 burgesses, they, according to Oldfield,

> with their patron, Mr. Rashleigh, used every exertion to reduce the inhabitants of this once populous and trading town, to a number inferior to the freeholders, in order to assume the control of their political rights, by which means this place became nearly depopulated; as it is proved by the parish registers, that in a few years after the charter began to operate, the population of the town decreased more than two-thirds.[3]

When in 1747 Thomas Pitt, on behalf of the Prince of Wales, became deeply engaged in Cornish elections, he wrote about Fowey on June 12: "As to the Foy and Lost-

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mined that Earle should have the first vacant seat in Parliament (see his memorandum for Lord Bute of April 17, 1761; Add. MSS. 32922, f. 14). But on June 12 Newcastle wrote to the Duke of Devonshire: " . . . *singly* out of regard to you, I have agreed with my Lord Edgcombe that he should chuse Captain Boyle at Fowey. . . . Poor Erle, I am afraid, will suffer by it. . . . Captain Boyle must take Mr. Erle's expence upon him as if he was the person himself to be chose; however, that will be the same thing to them both" (Add. MSS. 32924, f. 54). It is not clear what expense of Earle's Boyle Walsingham was to bear, nor is it clear where Lord Edgcumbe came in.

[1] See W. T. Laprade, *The Parliamentary Papers of John Robinson*, p. 26.

[2] Laprade, *op. cit.*; for 1780, see p. 58, "His Majesty's private account"; for 1784, p. 108.

[3] *A Key to the House of Commons* (1820), p. 183.

withiel, I am sifting and enquiring ".[1] On June 13: ". . . I am in hopes of both Lostwithiel and Fowey; but I must be enabled to make the deposit in case my scheme takes . . . £1000 for each Member ".[2] On June 19: ". . . if I can do it, shall I engage for two at Fowey? May Rashly [Rashleigh] be turned out? Won't it disoblige the Tories too much "?[3] He failed at Fowey,[4] but in a survey of Cornish boroughs (August 2, 1747), he made with regard to it the following interesting and enlightening statement:

> I have gained a good footing at Fowey, which, by bringing some kind of trade, may be established to be a prevailing interest. I understand there is a Club of West India merchants who make it a rule to promote the trade of any borough where a friend may be chosen. Could they not be prevailed on to order some of their ships to be victualled at Fowey?[5]

Fourteen years later this method was to be pursued by others; on June 26, 1761, Lord Edgcumbe wrote to the Duke of Newcastle:

> . . . I am like to meet with more trouble at Fowey than I imagined, for two of the agents that were employed at Penryn by Clive are there makeing interest for Crocket, a merchant of London, who (they say) engages to bring a number of Carolina ships there every year, and offers a bond of ten thousand pound for the performance of it; how farr these people are realy authorised by Crocket I know not, or if it is a spirit of revenge for their disappointment at Penryn, but . . . the opposition is become serious, and I have but a small majority, though I think enough to insure the election, for the whole bench and every gentleman of the town are with me, but notwithstanding that, it will cause an expence never known in that borough before.

There will be less difficulty, he thought, with Captain Walsingham than there would have been with Mr. Earle, though the people at Fowey " had rather have a merchant

[1] *Hist. MSS. Comm., Fortescue MSS.*, vol. i. p. 110.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 111.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 114.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 122.
[5] *Ibid.* p. 127.

than either". The letter closes with a recommendation that the son of one of the Fowey electors, who was on board Lord Edgcumbe's own ship, should be made a lieutenant, to secure his father's vote.[1]

The "Crocket" mentioned in this letter was Charles Crockatt, a big London merchant who traded with America, and especially with South Carolina, and is described by Oldfield as "largely concerned in the rice trade"[2] (rice was one of the staple products of the Carolinas). There was an old connexion between his family and South Carolina. In 1738 a James Crockett[3] (whose exact relationship to Charles Crockatt I have not been able to ascertain) was appointed to the Council of the Province, but in 1741 was replaced by Charles Pinckney, as his own "affairs do not permit him to return from England".[4] Subsequently James Crockatt acted for some time as agent for South Carolina in Great Britain,[5] whilst John Nutt, his son-in-law, appears occasionally as its banker.[6] In 1764 Charles and James Crockatt and John Nutt are among the signatories to a Memorial of the London merchants trading to the American plantations in favour of a bounty to be given in the Colonies on the growing of hemp;[7] and on December 4, 1765, at a

[1] Add. MSS. 32924, ff. 265-6. Newcastle replied on July 4 (*ibid.* f. 412)—he has spoken to Lord Anson and the thing shall be done.

[2] *A Key to the House of Commons* (1820), p. 183.

[3] The name is spelled in various ways: Crockett, Crockatt, Crokatt, etc.

[4] See *Acts of the Privy Council* (*Colonial*), 1720–45, pp. 837-8.

[5] See list of colonial agents in John Chamberlayne's *The Present State of Great Britain*, 1755.

[6] On him see Hunter, *Familiae Minorum Gentium*, p. 745: "John Nutt of London, merchant, mar. a daughter of James Crockett of London, merchant". He appears as a banker for So. Ca. in a letter from Charles Garth to the So. Ca. Committee of Correspondence, July 30, 1763 (in the copies of Garth's letterbooks which are at Haines Hill, Berks, in the possession of Mr. William Godsal, to whom my best thanks are due for his permission to use them).

[7] *Acts of the Privy Council* (*Colonial*), 1745–66, p. 648.

meeting of the merchants, Charles Crockatt was elected a member of the Committee formed to obtain the Repeal of the Stamp Act.[1]

There is no record of the contest between the Edgcumbe interest and Crockatt having been carried to a poll in December 1761, but after Jonathan Rashleigh's death, on November 24, 1764, Charles Crockatt once more came forward as a candidate for the borough. John Henniker, a big London merchant, who in 1761 had been returned for Sudbury, "supported in his election by a very considerable sum and the Duke of Newcastle, £5,500",[2] and in the autumn of 1762 had promptly deserted Newcastle for Bute and Fox, on December 19, 1764, wrote about Crockatt to Charles Jenkinson, then Secretary to the Treasury:

> A friend of mine, a merchant and a man of fortune and character, and a friend to Government—is desirous to represent Fowey—but if any other gentleman has already the favour of Government he will decline seeking further after it—or if not—he will wait on Mr. Grenville. . . .[3]

Charles Jenkinson submitted this letter to Grenville and marked it in the docket: "Will give an answer in 2 or 3 days"; and he replied to Henniker on December 20:

> I have laid before Mr. Grenville your letter of yesterday, and he directs me to acquaint you that he cannot yet say how far he is at liberty to assist your friend at Fowey. . . .[4]

No further correspondence on this matter between Henniker and Jenkinson is preserved in the Liverpool Papers, but Grenville's decision appears from the following letter written by Jenkinson on January 1, 1765, to J. R. Webb, Member for Bossiney:

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[1] Add. MSS. 38339, f. 166.

[2] See Bute's list of the House of Commons of 1761, Add. MSS. 38333, f. 97.

[3] Add. MSS. 38458, f. 56.

[4] Add. MSS. 38304, f. 102.

Mr. Jenkinson sends Mr. Webb inclosed a list of votes at Fowey and desires that his friend would mark those he can influence in favour of Mr. Crockatt, and that he would not fail to secure them. Mr. Jenkinson desires to have the list returned with his friend's observations.[1]

Crockatt, an "American" merchant, who a year later was actively to oppose the Stamp Act, had thus the support of the Grenville Government against Philip Rashleigh, a member and heir of an old Tory family; and "on the day of election [Crockatt] had a majority of legal votes", but the returning officer, whilst rejecting nine "Prince's tenants", made by Mr. Rashleigh for this occasion, "rejected a greater number of legal votes amongst the inhabitant householders paying scot and lot, who tendered for Mr. Crockatt, and gave the return to Mr. Rashleigh; against which a petition was presented by Mr. Crockatt, but never tried".[2] Charles Crockatt did not stand again in 1768,[3] and died on April 27, 1769.

East and West Looe

About East and West Looe Lord Edgcumbe's steward wrote in 1760: "Mr. John Buller manages these burroughs for the Administration and himself and the interest seems well settled in that channell".

A good picture of these relations is supplied by a memorandum addressed by John Buller, M.P. for East

[1] Add. MSS. 38304, f. 109. The list is not among the Liverpool Papers.

[2] *A Key to the House of Commons* (1820), p. 183.

[3] The figures for that election are given by W. W. Bean, "Polls at Parliamentary Elections before 1832", in *Notes and Queries*, eighth series, vol. ii. p. 183. They were:

Philip Rashleigh . . .	69
Js. Modyford Heywood . .	61
John Williams . . .	29
Tho. Arthington . . .	26

Looe, to the Duke of Newcastle—it is not dated but was written on the eve of the general election of 1761 : [1]

Sir R[obert] W[alpole] made Mr. Trelawny Commissioner of the Customs, and then Governor of Jamaica [2]; he also regimented the Independent Companies there, and made him the Colonel: Sir John Trelawny [3] had also an allowance of £500 a year, and a present of £1000 the year of the general election; and sometimes four friends were chosen and sometimes three.

Upon the death of Governor Trelawny, Mr. Pelham thought Mr. John Buller a proper person to manage the interest at Looe, and promis'd he should be Comptroller of the Mint, and that the salary should be made up £500 a year, and order'd Gashry to assure him of some farther mark of the King's favour.

My Lord Duke of Newcastle, succeeding to the Treasury, made good Mr. Pelham's engagement, by giving Lord Aylmer a pension of £500 a year; [4] and Mr. Buller, Mr. Noel,[5] Mr. Frederick,[6] and Mr. Gashry [7] were chosen at the last general election, agreable to his Grace's recommendation.

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[1] Add. MSS. 33055, f. 336.

[2] Edward Trelawny, Commissioner of Customs, 1732–36, and Governor of Jamaica, 1736–52; died January 6, 1754.

[3] Sir John Trelawny, fourth Bart. (died 1756), was a brother of Governor Trelawny.

[4] Lord Aylmer, Comptroller of the Mint, vacated the post in exchange for this pension.

[5] William Noel, M.P. for West Looe, 1747–57, when he was appointed a Judge in the Court of Common Pleas.

[6] On him see pp. 404-5.

[7] Francis Gashry, M.P. for East Looe, 1741–62, is a somewhat mysterious person. He seems to have been of foreign parentage, and to have had connexions with America and the West Indies, but so far I have not been able to find anything certain about either. His monument in the churchyard of All Saints at Fulham bears a coat of arms, but I have not found his family in any English genealogical work. The name is occasionally spelt "Gachery"; possibly he was descended from Stephen Gascherie, a Huguenot naturalised in 1687 (see Agnew, *Protestant Exiles from France* (1886), vol. ii. p. 55). On July 7, 1737, £300 were paid to Francis Gashery for a "Royal present to the Mohegan Indians of Connecticut" (see *Calendar of Treasury Books and Papers*, 1735–38, p. 426); and in 1702 there was a family

The salary of the Mint has never been worth more than £240 in any one year : the deficiency never paid but for one or two years.[1]

What Mr. John Buller now desires is to receive some mark of the Duke of Newcastle's favour and confidence, in being made a Commissioner of the Excise or Customs, by which his Grace may put in another Member at Looe, and Mr. Buller will have the satisfaction of knowing that his Grace has some regard for him. Mr. Buller promises the most zealous attachment to his Grace's interest, in this election, and in every future one.

My Lord Duke will please to consider, that six votes in the House depend on gratifying Mr. Buller in this request. Captain Trelawny,[2] Mr. Gashry and the person to be chosen in the room of Buller, will undoubtedly be his Grace's freinds. Whereas should

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of Gacherie, or Gasherie, settled in the Province of New York (see *Documents relating to the Colonial History of New York*, vol. iv. p. 1010 ; also *Registers of Births, Marriages and Deaths of the "Église Françoise à la Nouvelle York"*, 1688–1804, ed. by the Rev. A. V. Wittmeyer, *Collections of the Huguenot Society of America*, vol. i. pp. 95, 113, and 117). In Add. MSS. 19038 there is a series of letters from Gashry to Governor Trelawny in Jamaica, whose agent he seems to have been in England ; this correspondence continued with Trelawny's successor, Admiral Knowles. 1740–43 Gashry was an Extra Commissioner of the Navy, and from 1744–47 Comptroller of the Victualling Accounts of the Navy. These appointments he owed to Admiral Sir Charles Wager, M.P. ; on the monument which Gashry raised to him in Westminster Abbey in 1747, Wager is described as his "Great Patron". 1751–62 Gashry was Treasurer of the Ordnance and the intermediary between the Treasury and the local managers of the two Looes. As Treasurer of the Ordnance, Gashry dabbled in finance and was summoned by Newcastle to some of the conferences with City financiers. He was also a Director of the South Sea Company. According to the inscription on his tomb, he died aged 61 ; neither his parentage nor the name of his wife is given.

[1] Two payments to Buller, of £200 each, appear in the secret service accounts, the first on April 28, 1755, and the second on June 10, 1756; see pp. 529 and 534.

[2] William Trelawny, M.P. for West Looe, 1757–67 ; Captain R.N. ; Governor of Jamaica from 1767 till his death in 1772. In 1762 he succeeded to the baronetcy as its sixth holder. His father was a first cousin of Sir John Trelawny, fourth Bart., and of Rebecca Buller, the mother of John Buller, M.P.

Mr. Buller continue a Member and chuse a freind of his owne, these two and Captain Trelawny, who will be aw'd and influenced by Buller, will most certainly not be his Grace's freinds.

The Trelawnys were one of the oldest Parliamentary families in Cornwall; between the time of Edward II and the Reform Act of 1832, 23 of their name represented Cornish constituencies in Parliament. But about the middle of the eighteenth century the male representatives of the family rapidly died off; Sir John Trelawny, fourth baronet, was the last of four brothers, none of whom left any descendants. Similarly his cousin and heir, Harry Trelawny of Butshead, had no children, and was succeeded by his nephew, Captain William Trelawny, R.N., the Member for West Looe mentioned above. Meantime, largely through the marriage of a sister of Sir John Trelawny to John Francis Buller of Morval, M.P., the Bullers became closely connected with the Looes; John Buller, who, according to his own statement, was thought by Henry Pelham "a proper person to manage the interest at Looe", being a nephew of the Governor and of Sir John Trelawny.[1]

The Bullers, younger as a Parliamentary family than the Trelawnys, had come to the fore in the seventeenth century, and continued to gain ground on the electoral map of Cornwall; between 1620 and 1832, 22 of them sat in 73 Parliaments for Cornish constituencies. They seem to have had some interest of their own at West Looe, which they had contested against the Trelawnys in 1660, but predominance at the Looes came to them with the manage-

[1] The Trelawnys were Recorders of East Looe, 1677–1754; John Buller, 1754–86; his brother William, Dean of Exeter, and later on its Bishop, 1786–97; etc. (see Thomas Bond, *History of East and West Looe*, 1823). The same Rev. William Buller was elected four times Mayor of East Looe, 1760, 1767, 1774, and 1780, obviously each time in anticipation of a general election; John Buller in 1746, 1754, and 1772; James Buller, 1752; Francis Buller, 1762 (see *ibid.* pp. 234-5).

ment of the Government interest. The outcome was the same as in innumerable boroughs all over England: the private interest of the influential local manager gradually absorbed that of the Government.

Previous to the general election of 1754, William Trelawny applied to Henry Pelham by order of his uncle, Harry Trelawny of Butshead—" as a person who from the natural interest of my family and the good will that is born to it at the two burroughs of East and West Looe, had very good pretensions to offer myself as candidate for a seat in one of those burroughs at the ensuing election ". Mr. Pelham admitted his claim, but the candidates had already been settled with his relative, Governor Trelawny—if he now acceded to that arrangement, Pelham would support him on the next vacancy; and " in the mean time he said he would take care that I lost no ground in my profession by making him that concession ". William Trelawny agreed, and received the command of the *Peregrine* sloop with the promise of a post ship.[1]

Pelham dying on March 6, 1754, the management of the general election devolved on the Duke of Newcastle. He was informed by Gashry of his brother's engagements to William Trelawny, renewed the promise to recommend him " that he may be made a captain ", and tried " to find out something that may be agreable to Mr. John Buller ".[2] The four Government candidates were duly returned at the Looes, and on April 30 the Duke wrote to Harry Trelawny: " . . . the disinterested manner in which they [the

[1] William Trelawny to the Duke of Newcastle, May 26, 1755; Add. MSS. 32855, ff. 227-8.

[2] The Duke of Newcastle to Harry Trelawny, March 23, 1754; Add. MSS. 32734, ff. 314-15; reply from Harry Trelawny, March 29, *ibid.* f. 385. See also address from the Corporations of East and West Looe to the Duke of Newcastle, *ibid.* f. 392. There are forty-one signatures to the address, including William Trelawny as High Steward of West Looe, and John Buller as Recorder of East Looe.

Corporations of East and West Looe] have resisted the solicitations and temptations that were thrown in their way, . . . entitle them deservedly to my regard for their interests . . ."[1] It does not appear from this correspondence that at that time John Buller was considered the exclusive manager of the Government interest which he claimed to be in his own Memorandum.

A year later William Trelawny reminded Newcastle of his promise,[2] and, on fresh assurances being given through Gashry, wrote another letter[3] which throws light on the relations between the Trelawnys, the Bullers, and the Government:

I have a request to make of your Grace . . . founded in a caution I received from Mr. Pelham . . . who asked me whether there was not some danger to be apprehended from Mr. James Buller, one of the Members for the county. I answered that I thought not, because the attachment of the people in both burroughs was so very firm that it cou'd hardly be got the better of. Mr. Pelham replied that he was glad to hear it was so, but added that I must keep a good look out towards that quarter, for that Mr. Buller had a pretence to call himself one of the family, and very great property to support any pretence he pleased to advance, and if he shou'd get the burroughs into his hands the consequence would be that neither he nor any friend of his could expect any support from the representatives of them.

Mr. Buller has already tried the ground without success, but I am apprehensive that he may attempt it again, and in case I should be out of the way at a critical time may have a chance of carrying his point. My request therefore to your Grace is . . . that you would be pleased to intimate to the Lords of the Admiralty that I should be employed (when I have the honour to command a post ship) in a station that may not be too much out of reach when I am wanted to attend at either of the Looes.

Not a word is said about John Buller, who, as Member for East Looe and its Recorder, was more immediately

[1] Add. MSS. 32735, f. 215.
[2] May 26, 1755; Add. MSS. 32855, ff. 227-8.
[3] July 27, 1755; Add. MSS. 32857, ff. 392-3.

concerned in the boroughs. James Buller, his elder brother, was obviously the better peg for the fears and the story, because as a knight of the shire he was a "Tory", which at that time hardly meant anything but that he was independent; whilst John, being concerned in boroughs, by their patronage and traffic was brought into close touch with the Government, and was therefore a "Whig". Still, as will be seen later, both brothers were concerned in establishing the family interest in the boroughs, and by 1759 had therein even the help of the Trelawnys.

At West Looe the Corporation consisted of 12 burgesses, one of whom was the Mayor; they constituted the entire Parliamentary electorate of the borough, and as they were recruited by co-optation, circumstances favoured its conversion into a family preserve. In 1820 Oldfield wrote about West Looe: "John Buller, of Morval, Esq. [the grandson of James Buller] is proprietor of this borough. . . ."[1]

At East Looe the Corporation consisted of a Mayor, recorder, eight aldermen, "and an indefinite number of freemen, or burgesses, who possess the right of election".[2] Neither the Trelawnys nor the Bullers ever obtained quite the same hold on this borough as on West Looe. John Buller stated in his memorandum for the Duke of Newcastle that "sometimes four friends were chosen and sometimes three", and in depicting the future consequences of his displeasure, again spoke of three seats only. The uncertain seat was at East Looe.

One of the Members returned for West Looe in 1754, John Frederick, was descended from Sir John Frederick, "a merchant of great opulence and Lord Mayor of London in 1662", and his family was prominent in the City of London and the East India House, as Government contractors and in the Civil Service. He had sat for West Looe since 1743, and, as was usual in the eighteenth

[1] *Key to the Houses of Parliament*, p. 80. [2] *Ibid.* p. 81.

century, by establishing an interest of his own in the borough, tried to render himself independent of those to whom, at least in part, he owed his seat. Here are a few letters written to him by some of his twelve electors, giving a good picture of "politics" in a close Cornish corporation:

Richard Puddicombe to John Frederick.

West Looe. *September* 11, 1759.

Honourable Sir,

I am sorry to find you are so very ill, I hope by this time you are quite recovered. As to the Salt Office place for my Brother John, I hope you have obtaind as it is our borough's property, and my brother John is an alderman as well as the person that had it last. We who signed the last letter to your Honour are the persons that the interest of this borough depends on, and I say farther your interest as well, and I assure you, Sir, if you obtain this place, it will be a great mains in promoting your interest. I have no time to write any more as I am now on Corporation business of great importance.[1]

Robert Hearle, Richard Puddicombe and Stephen and John Puddicombe to John Frederick.

September 29, 1759.

. . . Unluckily for us Mr. Nath[l] Hearle, who was a father to two of us, died about a fortnight since, and this day by the influence of Mr. James Buller, a Member for this county, Mr. Samuel Bowden, sen. was chosen mayor for the year ensuing in the room of Stephen Puddicombe in order, as 'tis supposed, to fill up the vacancy on the Bench with one Mr. Dido, a clergyman and schoolmaster of Tiverton, Devon, a remarkable Anticourtier, which we strenuously opposed. The mayoralty has gone on for many many years by agreement, by rotation. And it was Rich[d] Puddicombe's turn to be mayor this year, Bowden is elected entirely as a tool, but what is more extraordinary is that Mr. John Buller, a Member for East Looe should join those who are directly opposite to his Grace the Duke of Newcastle's interest. We are sorry to say this, but you

[1] Add. MSS. 32895, f. 357.

may depend on the truth of it, and we have reason to fear gentlemen of a different way of thinking from you and his Grace of Newcastle intend to divide the borough at the next election, but give us leave to say you may depend upon our utmost efforts in the support of your interest and at all events are determined to join you. . . .[1]

On October 4 these same aldermen again reported to John Frederick that the new Mayor had summoned a court of aldermen the previous day, but that none of the signatories had attended, "well knowing that the mayor could not get more than four aldermen (and those all non-resident, viz. James Buller, John Buller, Francis Buller, and Charles Trelawny, Esqs.) besides himself and son to sit on the Bench". Although there was thus no quorum, they proceeded to transact business, elected Dido an alderman, had the son of Mr. James Buller, though a minor, sworn a freeman, and Mr. Henry Trelawny nominated for a freeman. "You may see, Sir, by this that our fears and apprehensions were not groundless, and that those gentlemen are aiming at you equally with us."[2] Still, not at West Looe alone, but with the Government itself, the Buller influence was superior to that of John Frederick. On December 21, 1759, Richard Puddicombe reported to John Frederick a rumour that the Salt Office had been obtained for James Dyer, a freeman of East Looe. "We did realy think that my brother John Puddicombe woud have succeeded as the place belongs to our borough."[3] On February 5, 1761, Richard Puddicombe wrote again to Frederick:

Honourable Sir,

As the dessolution of this Parliament is very near, and my self, brothers and brother-in-law have had several gentlemen to desire our vots, and interest, for them to be our representatives in Parliament at the next election—we have denied every gentleman as yet

[1] Add. MSS. 32896, f. 174.
[2] *Ibid.* f. 274.
[3] Add. MSS. 32900, f. 379.

that have asked our vots on your account; therefore I humbly beg the favour of your Honour to inform me whether you'l be pleased to offer your self a candidate for our borough, and at the same time be pleased if you can to informe me whether his Grace the Duke of Newcastle doth intend to recommend any person.—I assure you we have kept our self entirely to oblige you and his Grace, and I have waited every post thinking to hear from you, but I think I have received no answer from you since Michaelmas last.[1]

The Puddicombes and Hearles ultimately regained their position in the borough,[2] but John Frederick had to abandon his seat to Francis Buller, the younger brother of John Buller.[3]

Judging from the style and contents of John Buller's

[1] Add. MSS. 32918, ff. 289-90.

[2] After some seven stormy years, during which several times no mayor was elected "owing to equal votes", a compromise seems to have been concluded, a new rotation established, and the Puddicombes and Hearles reinstated. Richard Puddicombe was Mayor of West Looe six times between 1768 and 1787; Stephen Puddicombe eleven times between 1769 and 1802; a Nathaniel Hearle eleven times between 1782 and 1807; his son, bearing the same names, every second year from 1808 onwards. The circle was obviously getting more and more restricted. See Thomas Bond, *History of East and West Looe* (1823), pp. 242-3.

[3] Newcastle tried at first to find another constituency for John Frederick, whose name appears in lists of candidates (see, *e.g.*, that of February 17, 1761; Add. MSS. 32919, f. 62); and in another undated list of "Persons who have applied to be brought into Parliament" (Add. MSS. 32999, f. 222), the following remark is put against his name: "Turn'd out of Parliament by Mr. Buller.—Has had long expectations and constant disappointments". Finally, his name is crossed out from the list of candidates and the significant word "Customs" is put against it. For years John Frederick had been pressing unsuccessfully for a place at one of the Government Boards (see letters of May 20, 1756, Add. MSS. 32865, f. 69; May 27, 1757, Add. MSS. 32871, f. 149; May 1, 1759, Add. MSS. 32890, f. 436; May 7, 1759, Add. MSS. 32891, f. 23; December 23, 1759, Add. MSS. 32900, f. 266); now he received his consolation prize as Commissioner of Customs (salary £1000 a year), a place not tenable with a seat in Parliament.

memorandum for the Duke of Newcastle and the fact that the office he claimed was not given to him, one might have expected him to desert Newcastle as soon as power and patronage passed out of the Duke's hands. It happened otherwise ; he was closely connected with H. B. Legge, to whom, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, he had been secretary, and who in March 1761 was driven from office by the new Court, the first victim of Leicester House rancours ; Buller remained faithful to him and Newcastle. Early in 1762, Gashry, who had " long been in a declining state ", was not expected to " hold long " any more ; and Legge reported to Newcastle : " Buller is ready to receive any friend of your nomination into the borough upon very easy terms and your Grace will not be sorry to settle your measures a little beforehand against Gachery's death. . . ." [1] The terms were " 1000*l.* only " from the Member to be elected, and the succession to Gashry as Treasurer of the Ordnance (£500 p.a.) for John Buller.[2]

By April 19, Gashry was on the point of death, and Legge again pressed Newcastle concerning the borough and the place at the Ordnance.[3] Newcastle, no longer the " disposing Minister ", had to speak to Bute about it, and received an ambiguous reply. By the middle of May Newcastle himself was on his political deathbed. " I can . . . assure your Grace ", wrote Legge on May 14, " that Buller is not more desirous of obtaining the office himself than of bringing a person into Parliament of your nomination ".[4] Gashry died on May 19, and Legge once more brought up the matter, only to receive a sad answer from the Duke describing how everything was done " to

[1] Add. MSS. 32934, f. 490.

[2] Newcastle's " Memorandums for Lord Bute ", April 7, 1762 ; Add. MSS. 32936, f. 412.

[3] Add. MSS. 32937, f. 225.

[4] Add. MSS. 32938, f. 270.

mortifie me at my going out ".[1] Still, he tried, and on May 21 wrote again to Legge :

> I this day . . . acquainted the King with the vacancy of the Treasurer of the Ordnance ; and that I had, some time ago, recommended to my Lord Bute Mr. Buller to succeed him. I set both Mr. Buller's pretensions, both as to his consequence and merit, in the best manner I could ; particularly his credit and influence in the two boroughs of East Low and West Low. His Majesty said nothing, as I knew, he would not give me any promise or encouragement ; but as I have now prepared them, I should think, if Mr. Buller has any way of applying, it would do ; but in my present situation, I can do nothing. . . .[2]

Legge replied the same day :

> If without further application the thing is done, very well, but if fresh solicitation is to be made, he [Buller] will never get it. I cant take some means of asking, and if I could, Buller is not a man to take even what he wants by all means ; tho' I believe the place might be had if nothing but the mere obtaining it were to be consider'd. He has been examin'd about the borough and has declared himself engaged to Lord Palmerston a gentleman of my recommending approv'd by you, and is gone down to Loo without asking any further questions to make good his engagement.[3]

It shows character and independence in Buller to have quoted Legge and Newcastle as the men whose recommendation he had accepted ; Lord Palmerston was returned for East Looe, but naturally the place of Gashry as Treasurer of the Ordnance was not given to Buller—it went to Charles Jenkinson, at that time Bute's man.

During the next three years John Buller is found in all the main divisions voting with the Opposition. He was one of the minority against the Preliminaries of the Peace of Paris on December 10, 1762 ; he voted with the Opposition over General Warrants on February 17-18, 1764 ; and as the only one of the Buller family, was a member of the

[1] May 20, 1762 ; Add. MSS. 32938, f. 365.
[2] Add. MSS. 32948, f. 349. [3] Add. MSS. 32938, f. 386.

Opposition club at Wildman's in Albemarle Street in 1764. As Newcastle put it in a letter to the Duke of Devonshire on December 21, 1763, James Buller, the Member for Cornwall, had always been "a most staunch, determined Tory; which his brother John has never, or at least for many years, been";[1] whilst Francis, in December 1763, accepted the place of Groom-Porter from the Grenville Administration. But as to John Buller, Legge wrote to Newcastle on December 22: ". . . whenever he falls off I shall have no further confidence in myself and you may expect to hear I am turn'd into a Commissioner of Hackney Coaches".[2] When in February 1764 a Government crisis seemed imminent, Legge named John Buller among the few friends whom he asked Newcastle to take care of;[3] and in his last will, he appointed his wife (Lady Stawell), John Buller, and the so-called "Spanish" Charles Townshend[4] (a cousin of his more famous namesake) his executors and guardians of his son. "He could not have chose properer persons", wrote Newcastle to Lord Ashburnham on September 4, 1764.[5] "There never lived a man of a sounder understanding, or a better heart", wrote the "Spanish" Townshend about John Buller.[6]

When the Rockingham Government was being formed, Lady Stawell wrote to Newcastle on July 5, 1765:

> . . . Mr. Buller's steady and warm attachment to the Whigs added to his great influence in the borroughs of Looe are all too well

[1] Add. MSS. 32954, f. 121. [2] *Ibid.* f. 142.

[3] Letter of February 16, 1764; Add. MSS. 32956, f. 6.

[4] Charles Townshend (1728–1810) of Honingham Hall, Norfolk (son of William Townshend and grandson of the second Viscount Townshend) M.P. for Yarmouth, 1756–84 and 1790–96; created in 1797 Baron Bayning. Before entering Parliament he was Secretary to the Embassy at Madrid, which supplied the adjective "Spanish", to distinguish him from the more famous Charles Townshend, Chancellor of the Exchequer in the Chatham Administration of 1766, who was a son of the third Viscount Townshend.

[5] Add. MSS. 32962, f. 17.

[6] September 13, 1764; *ibid.* f. 107.

known to your Grace to need my repeating; I shall therefore only recommend him to you as Mr. Legge's friend . . . and I hope I shall not see Mr. Legge's memory so little regarded as to be left in doubt of Mr. Buller's being of the Treasury or Admiralty board. . . .[1]

Newcastle thereupon wrote in a memorandum for Lord Albemarle, the secretary and political representative of the Duke of Cumberland:

. . . The Duke of Newcastle has a letter, from my Lady Stawell, recommending, in the strongest manner, Mr. John Buller, who is now Comptroller of the Mint (400£ pr. an.) to a better employment.

She lays it very strong upon the Duke of Newcastle, as due to the memory of poor Mr. Legge; and, as Mr. Buller had been so strongly recommended to him by Mr. Legge.

Paymaster of the Marines, if Mr. Offley is otherwise provided for, Mr. John Buller.

There are other political reasons, which make the Duke of Newcastle wish, that Mr. Buller may be provided for, which the Duke of Newcastle was ignorant of, 'till yesterday morning.

Mr. Buller, upon the death of his two brothers,[2] both friends of the last, or present Ministers, has settled his affairs of the two Lowes, that Mr. Buller can bring in *three Members*, without the least opposition.

As to his merit, he is a very honest man; has a family, with a small fortune; and has been a most firm friend; and refused the Treasurer of Ordnance, offer'd to him, when it was given to Mr. Mackye. . . .[3]

The same day Newcastle wrote to Lady Stawell assuring her that he would not be capable "of being wanting in any mark of respect or attention" to the wishes of a friend whom he had loved so sincerely, but added that the Treasury and the Admiralty, which "are the two first Boards", are likely to be settled by now and that he would have to find something else for Buller.

[1] Add. MSS. 32967, f. 255.

[2] Francis Buller died on October 31, 1764, and James Buller on April 30, 1765.

[3] July 7, 1765; Add. MSS. 32967, f. 273-4. John Ross Mackye had succeeded Charles Jenkinson at the Ordnance in 1763.

I have had very few opportunities of seeing Mr. Buller since [the death of Legge]; and indeed, 'till yesterday morning, I had not seen him, since there had been any report of a change in the Administration; or, did I ever know, 'till yesterday, that since the death of his two brothers, he had settled the two boroughs so, that he (Mr. Buller) will chuse three Members, without any opposition.[1]

Lady Stawell replied in an indignant letter that Buller had asked Townshend (the "Spaniard") to tell Newcastle "how little satisfied he was with what had past" in his conversation with the Duke, and how "determin'd he was never to trouble you more".

As to myself I am hurt tho' not at all *surprized* that in the arrangement no care should have been taken of one so warmly recomended by Mr. Legge as you know Mr. Buller was, and that after it having been Mr. Legges dyeing request to your Grace, you should have thought it necessary to know *exactly* how many members Mr. Buller could bring into Parliament. . . .[2]

But Townshend took a saner view of the situation:

. . . Mr. Townshend will see Mr. Buller, will endeavour to soften his *Cornish spirit*, and to prevent him from injuring himself, and from giving pain to those, whose inclination Mr. T. knows it is to give all due weight to Mr. Buller's merit and pretentions.[3]

Newcastle meantime most vigorously pressed on Rockingham the claims of three friends, James West, John Offley, and John Buller, and wrote to him on July 12:

. . . I think my honour so much concerned in the three following persons, that, if something is not done, or proposed, for them, I don't see, that I can have any share in the Administration. . . .

As to Mr. Buller, the Admiralty is what he wants; and, I hope,

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[1] Add. MSS. 32967, f. 282.

[2] July 7, 1765; *ibid.* f. 284.

[3] The "Spanish" Townshend to the Duke of Newcastle, July 11, 1765; *ibid.* f. 325.

in regard to Mr. Legge's memory, in consideration of Mr. Buller's own merit, and the three Members of Parliament, that he can chuse, that no one will be prefer'd to him; if I find, there was, I must take the liberty to speak to the King upon it. I hope therefore, your Lordship, and the other Ministers will make it unnecessary, to trouble His Majesty upon these occasions. . . .

I shall take the liberty to send an extract of this part of my letter, relating to my three friends, to the Duke;[1] and I hope, His Royal Highness will not think it unreasonable. . . .[2]

On July 13, Rockingham offered to make Buller a Commissioner of the Board of Trade, but finally he was appointed to the seat at the Admiralty which he desired, and this he retained under successive Administrations till 1779. In 1780 he was advanced to the post of a Lord of the Treasury, and he went out with Lord North in 1782. His was the story of so many who in the early years of George III had adhered to the Opposition, but having lost their bearings during the subsequent changes, returned to the safe Government fold. John Robinson, Secretary to the Treasury, in his "State of English Constituencies", prepared in December 1783, when George III wanted to know what chances Pitt would have on a dissolution of Parliament, put down against East Looe: "Mr. Buller's, senior, who most likely will come in himself and may by civility be made steady."[3] Meantime, the direction of West Looe, by a family arrangement of which I do not know the date, had passed to John Buller, junior,[4] the son of James Buller and nephew of John Buller, senior. The two seats at West Looe were bought from him for the Pitt Government in 1784 for £6000.[5]

[1] The Duke of Cumberland.

[2] Add. MSS. 32967, ff. 347-8.

[3] See Laprade, *op. cit.* p. 108.

[4] At the time of his father's death in 1765, John Buller, jun., born in 1745, was still under age. He was returned for Exeter in 1768.

[5] W. T. Laprade, *op. cit.* p. 83.

Camelford

The right of election at Camelford was disputed between the "capital burgesses" and the freemen resident in the borough and paying scot and lot; anyhow, the number of voters did not exceed fifty and was more often less than twenty-five. The Duke of Bedford, as stated by the steward of Lord Edgcumbe, had "the best property in the town", whereby he could direct many of his tenants; but the "principal influence" was with the Phillips family, who during the greater part of the eighteenth century managed Camelford. Slowly they themselves rose to the height of Parliamentary ambitions, but became extinct before they had time to proceed any further. Thus there was no initial mortgage on the representation of Camelford, and its Members during the eighteenth century, except for a few relatives of the Pitt family, present a long succession of strangers, mostly unconnected with each other by family ties.

John Phillips of Treveanes in St. Teath, the founder of the family, was a Cornish attorney who, as so many attorneys in the West of England, dabbled in boroughs and elections. Early in the eighteenth century he "settled in Camelford and availing himself of the political advantages of the town, obtained much influence in the borough and acquired a considerable fortune".[1] About 1720 he became connected with the mighty Governor Thomas Pitt, immortalised by the size of his diamond, the violence of his passions, and the fame of his grandson, Lord Chatham. On August 10, 1722, Governor Pitt wrote to his eldest son Robert:

I have been thinking that if we should have a new Parliament

[1] See Gilbert, *Parochial History of Cornwall*, vol. i. p. 380—I am aware of having stated, on p. 201, that not a single fortune, even of moderate size, is known to have been acquired in Parliamentary boroughs; but this, of course, means by a patron, not by an election agent.

. . . I would have you and Phillips lay your heads together where the interest of my estate lies strongest for electing three or four Parliament men for that I hear the borough hunters of Cornwall are willing to commute with me, and if they do not, and that there is a new Parliament, I will give them all the trouble I can imagine. . . .[1]

Under Phillips's management Robert Pitt was elected for Okehampton in Devonshire, but when Phillips's account came in for "2549 l. 14s. besides 150 l. he said he had paid otherwise", the Governor wrote again in no less a characteristic strain :

. . . you have been such a son to me as he has been a steward who I will very suddenly discharge as a cursed and unfaithful steward.[2]

And a friend who happened to be present, thus reported to Robert Pitt the Governor's comments on the bill :

. . . He swore most heartely and said he would send for Phillips to towne and he must certainly suffer death, besides his being turned out of his stewardship.[3]

The cursing of Phillips, " that most notorious villain as ever was heard of ", continued for some time,[4] and of Robert Pitt so long as the Governor lived (he died in 1726 and Robert Pitt in 1727). But John Phillips survived, and the connexion between him and the Governor's family was not broken ; in 1727 John Pitt, the Governor's youngest son, was elected at Camelford, in 1734 Sir Thomas Lyttleton and James Cholmondeley, both connected with the Pitt family, and in 1741 the candidates of the Prince of Wales, for whom Thomas Pitt, the son and heir of Robert, managed the Cornish elections. Similarly in 1747 two candidates approved by the Prince, Ridgway, third Earl

[1] Hist. MSS. Comm., *Fortescue MSS.*, vol. i. p. 66.
[2] Governor Pitt to Robert Pitt, June 16, 1722 ; *ibid.* p. 67.
[3] Sir Thomas Hardy to Robert Pitt, June 16, 1722 ; *ibid.* p. 67.
[4] *Ibid.* pp. 68 and 69.

of Londonderry, a grandson of Governor Pitt, and Samuel Martin, a barrister of West Indian extraction attached to the Prince, were returned for Camelford.[1]

The scene changed between this and the next general election. The Prince of Wales died in 1751, and most of his adherents made their peace and terms with the Pelhams, whilst Thomas Pitt, loaded with debt and pressed by creditors, had given up electioneering and ultimately had to fly the country. Still, the candidates in 1754 continued to be of the old Leicester House set, though now connected with the Government—John Lade, distantly related to the Grenvilles, through his wife, a Thrale, and Samuel Martin. The opposition came from the Duke of Bedford, who at that time was trying to establish and develop his interest in Cornwall.[2]

At first he attempted negotiations with the Government; Henry Pelham wrote to Samuel Martin on September 1, 1753, that the Duke had offered to name a candidate in the King's service:

> First I think his Grace should name the gentleman in the King's

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[1] See on the election, Hist. MSS. Comm., *Fortescue Papers*, vol. i. pp. 109, 110, 113, and 120.

[2] As a matter of fact, Thomas Pitt, shortly before he was forced to give up his election affairs in Cornwall, on October 12, 1748, wrote a letter to his brother-in-law, the Rev. Dr. Ayscough, full of suspicions of Charles Phillips; but as its last words well describe Thomas Pitt's mental condition at the time, one does not know how much importance to attach to it:

> His Grace of Bedford is become the terrour of the West. Having purchased Mr. Manatten's estates at Newport and Camelford, he has, under the management of Charles Phillips, attacked Sir William Morris [Morice] and intends under the same agent, to do me the same favour at Camelford. Phillipps's behaviour since I have been in the country, has been very suspicious. . . . I am at work to defeat him . . . but the ungratefull villain has worked underground something too long. My situation here with regard to matters of a publick concern, added to my situation in private, is enough to make a man mad (*Fortescue Papers*, vol. i. pp. 132-3).

service he proposes to chuse, otherways you being named on our side we are not upon equal terms, secondly is it in the Duke's power and ours jointly to prevent an opposition, will not the Phillips's secure a contest on one side or the other, to shew their own influence? As to advancing more money as yet to Phillips, you are the best judge, does he give you an account what he has done with that you gave him before; I should look after him a little nicely, tho' not shew any suspicion of him, for upon that family undoubtedly depends the election, compromised or not.[1]

On September 9, 1753, R. N. Aldworth, a political dependant of the Duke of Bedford, informed Samuel Martin that the Duke's intended candidate was Captain Bateman, a brother of Lord Bateman and nephew of the Duke of Marlborough. No compromise was, however, concluded, and on April 11, 1754, the following entry appears in Newcastle's "Minutes": [2]

Camelford . .	Mr. Lade. Mr. Martin
Commodore Rodney Captain Vernon [3]	3000 each.

The same day, Legge, now Chancellor of the Exchequer, wrote to Martin:

I suppose that Mr. Andrews will have acquainted you already by express how much your friends here are alarmed with the apprehension of an opposition at Camelford. There is great confidence here in your discretion and good conduct, but in order to strengthen your hands and add to your stock of ammunition I am to acquaint you that Sir William Ashburnham, aged 76, was said to be very ill a few days ago. In case of his death Mr. Phillips may depend upon one of his places that is either Commissioner of the Alienation Office or Treasurer which is better, this nearest prospect of performance

[1] Martin Papers in the British Museum; not yet catalogued.

[2] Add. MSS. 32995, f. 217.

[3] Richard Vernon, a brother-in-law of Lord Gower, subsequently returned by the Duke of Bedford for Tavistock, in December 1754; a regular "Bedford man". About Rodney's candidature at Camelford, see also p. 381.

may strengthen the faith which Mr. Phillips carried away with him in promise. As it is said your antagonists go well arm'd, it is desired that you will not lose your election on that account, and any reasonable sum necessarily expended will be made good.[1]

Lade and Martin spent £740 from secret service funds on the election, and even if we add £2000 which they seem to have contributed of their own money,[2] this is much less than was offered by the opposition, which shows the value of constant nursing and of the other advantages expected from Government favour by the manager and voters of Camelford. In December 1755, Charles Phillips having been given the promised place in the Alienation Office,[3] gratefully assured Newcastle that he and his family would support the friends of the Government " in any part of Cornwall ", promptly put up fresh demands for his brother, etc.,[4] but, on the whole, seems to have been satisfied, as at the by-election at Newport in June 1756 he is found readily placing his vote and interest at Newcastle's service.[5]

It was a fairly common occurrence for voters in neighbouring boroughs to dispute certain local Government appointments, not clearly connected with either borough, but claimed by each as its " property "—the electors of such and such town would claim a prescriptive right to a Receivership of the Land Tax, or a post of Surveyor of Window Lights, or to a place in a decayed harbour which by exceptional ill luck happened not to be a Parliamentary borough. Such a conflict occurred in 1758 between

[1] Martin Papers. There is among the Newcastle Papers (Add. MSS. 32737, f. 237) one marked " Mr. Martin's Paper about Camelford ", undated, but placed at the end of the volume covering October 1754. In this Martin states that the Bedford candidates " offered no less than 4000£ to be chosen ", and repeats that he was informed " he should be allowed any reasonable expence that the opposition might render necessary ".

[2] See Add. MSS. 32995, f. 63.

[3] Sir William Ashburnham, 2nd bart., having died on November 7, 1755.

[4] Add. MSS. 32861, f. 192.

[5] Add. MSS. 32865, f.371.

Camelford and Bossiney (*alias* Tintagel), where Edward Wortley Montagu, the father-in-law of Lord Bute, had the principal interest and Lord Edgcumbe some influence. The Duke of Newcastle, who at that time obsequiously courted Lord Bute, hastened to assure him that the vacancies " in dispute between the towns of Camelford and Bossiney " would be filled in accordance with his wishes ; but as they were in the appointment of the Commissioners of the Customs, Lord Edgcumbe and Mr. Martin had to arrange the matter with them.[1] To this Bute replied with the haughtiness of a Scotch lord unaccustomed to have a small man cross his path, and ignorant of the regard due to any one in charge of a Parliamentary borough :

> When L^d^. Edgcumbe and Mr. Wortley first mentioned their pretensions to the little office in Bossiney, I own I was so astonish'd at Mr. Philips's presuming to enter into competition with men of their rank and fortune, about a second office after an agreement made on his obtaining the first, that I resolv'd to state the whole matter to your Grace, not in the least doubting but you would think it for the common interest necessary to interpose on the behalf of persons of such consequence.[2]

The contest was renewed in 1760.[3] Edgcumbe demanded " the dismission of two Customhouse officers " and the grant of a place in the Custom House at Padstow to a Bossiney man ;[4] Martin claimed the place for a Camelford man, and, himself since 1758 Joint Secretary to the Treasury, shielded the obnoxious officers, who were apparently Camelford men. " The intention was to have it done immediately to strike a kind of terror, and to make appear that I had an interest with Government ", wrote Edgcumbe on January 24, 1761, but now it is delayed

[1] February 8, 1758 ; Add. MSS. 32877, ff. 382-3.

[2] *Ibid.* ff. 408-9.

[3] See letters from Lord Edgcumbe to the Duke of Newcastle, October 12, 1760 ; Add. MSS. 32913, ff. 75-6, and October 21, f. 255.

[4] Add. MSS. 32916, f. 90.

till Mr. Martin can hear from Mr. Philips whether it be agreable to him, or not. What makes this the harder is, all this court of Mr. Martin to his Camelford friends adds not a grain to his security, whereas had the blow been struck in time, it would have restored me a place at Tintagel; for my agents both in town and country are convinced that, if we fail, it is purely for want of this support.

Edgcumbe's further reasoning about the matter throws light on the conventions then observed in patronage matters: Mr. Martin does not assert that these officers had been appointed through Camelford influence, whereas he himself, had he not been told that they had both been put in by his father, "would not have consented to ask to have them turn'd out".[1]

Through Martin's position in the Treasury, Camelford was brought into specially close touch with it. When Sir John Lade (created a baronet in 1758) died in 1759, this being a time of acute financial crisis (caused by the excessive drain of money for the campaigns in Germany and America) Newcastle felt that some one should be chosen in his place, from whom the Treasury could obtain expert support in the House of Commons. On April 21, 1759, James West, the senior Secretary to the Treasury, wrote him the following letter reviewing possible City candidates for Camelford:

I have the honour of your Grace's commands this moment, and can only return my faithfull thoughts for your Grace's goodness. Mr. Thrale has so close connections with the Grenville family,[2] that I should doubt whether his new relation[3] can answer sufficiently for him; Mr. Savage[4] I beleive has no inclination to come into

[1] Add. MSS. 32918, ff. 51-2.

[2] Lord Cobham, the uncle of Lord Temple and George, James, and Henry Grenville, had been married to a first cousin of Henry Thrale's father. According to Mrs. Piozzi (Hester Thrale), old Thrale "lent them [the Grenvilles] money, and they furnished assistance of every other kind".

[3] Arnold Nesbitt, M.P., married in 1758 a sister of Henry Thrale.

[4] In 1758 Governor of the Bank of England.

Parliament, and tho' a good Whig and very rich, has peevishness and singularity in many things to a high degree; Mr. Burton [1] is a very good sensible man, but I do not think of any great weight in the City; . . . Mr. Thornton [2] is very rich, in great credit and esteem, and of as much weight in the City as any one man I know, has been generally esteemed by Sir J. Barnard,[3] the Martins,[4] and the whole Clapham Club, and, I am sure . . . as unexceptionable a person as your Grace can chuse. I have a value for Mr. Touchit,[5] but considering the late reflections, however ill-grounded, and which have made him very unpopular, I cannot think his coming into Parliament at this time, upon your Grace's interest, would be right. I ought to add Mr. Thornton will never be a speaker, I wish your Grace to have some bold, spirited man with confidence and volubility, such a one is much wanted, but difficult to find joined to fidelity. I have sent to Mr. Martin [6] to know the state of Camelford. . . . Your Grace will see if there is much difficulty or expence, it will not be easy to engage a proper person for so short a term as the duration of the present Parliament to undertake it.[7]

The next day (April 22) the following entry occurs in Newcastle's "Memorandums for the King":

D. Bedford — The Camelford Election
Mr. Burton. Mr. Thornton.

The choice fell on Bartholomew Burton, for many years a Director of the Bank of England and in 1759 its Deputy Governor, and the Duke of Bedford, at that time on friendly terms with Newcastle, was requested to support him. "There was not the least hesitation", wrote Richard

[1] Bartholomew Burton, a merchant and Director of the Bank of England.

[2] A big banker, father of Henry Thornton, M.P., the friend of Wilberforce.

[3] Sir John Barnard (1685–1764), one of the most prominent City financiers, M.P. for the City of London, 1722–61; see on him *D.N.B.*

[4] The family of bankers at the sign of the "Grasshopper"; not related to Samuel Martin, a West Indian.

[5] Samuel Touchet, a Nonconformist, returned for Shaftesbury in 1761; a Government contractor.

[6] Samuel Martin.

[7] Add. MSS. 32890, ff. 231-2.

Rigby, his political agent, to Newcastle, " as soon as your Grace's inclination was known ".[1]

On April 27, 1759, Charles Phillips sent the following report to Samuel Martin concerning his election preparations at Camelford :

I . . . got our friends toegether who all were unanimous in electing any person his Grace the Duke of Newcastle should think proper to represent the burro'—most of the opposite party were also present and agreed to the same proposal. This must necessaryly enhance the expences of the present but may be the means of saving a great deal of trouble and expences at the general election.

His Grace may be assured we will use our utmost endeavours to make the affair become as little chargeable as possable but imagine the freemen cannot have less than 10 or 12*l*. each, so desire you will send 500*l*. and what ever can be saved shall be regularly accounted for.

At a late re-election at Tintagel the freemen of that burro' had that summe wil probably make ours expect the same. . . .[2]

Ten or twelve pounds a man and a total of £500 was not a high price, even though the Parliament had only two more years to run ; by the beginning of the nineteenth century the price at Camelford was £300 a vote in an electorate of about 25, and in 1818 more than double that amount was paid.[3] But not even £500 were spent by the Treasury in 1759. On May 3 Newcastle wrote in a " Memorandum " for the King :

Given to Mr. Martin towards Camelford election, 300*l*. Mr. Burton pay a part.[4]

On May 25, 1759, Bartholomew Burton was duly returned for the borough, and at the general election of

[1] Richard Rigby to the Duke of Newcastle, London, April 27, 1759 ; Add. MSS. 32890, f. 372.

[2] *Ibid.* f. 374.

[3] Oldfield, *A Key to the House of Commons* (1820), p. 145.

[4] Add. MSS. 32890, f. 449. See also secret service accounts, under May 2, 1759, p. 551 : " To Mr. Martin towards Camelford election £300 ". This is the only disbursement from those funds on that by-election.

1761 he and Samuel Martin were re-elected. In 1768 Charles Phillips himself was returned for Camelford; on his death in 1774 his brother Jonathan, a surgeon in the Royal Navy, succeeded him in the Recordership of Camelford and as manager of the borough in the Government interest; but (except for a few months in 1784) he himself did not sit in Parliament. In 1780 the two seats were sold through Government mediation to "East Indians," James Macpherson, of Ossian fame, and John Pardoe, the son of a Director of the East India Company, each paying £4000 for his seat.[1] Prices were rising, the freemen showing greater independence, but the nature of Camelford "politics" remained the same.

Grampound

Lord Edgcumbe in his letter to the Duke of Newcastle on May 20, 1760, uses the curious phrase: " . . . Grampound, which renounced my name upon the death of my father . . . "; and his steward writes in June: " . . . the Bench have very perfidiously left Lord Edgcumbe and attached themselves to Mr. Elliot and Mr. Trevanion ". The transaction thus described illustrates the system of "infeudation" for electoral purposes practised in many of the Cornish boroughs, an act in which the small group of insignificant voters enjoyed more independence

[1] See W. T. Laprade, *The Parliamentary Papers of John Robinson*, p. 34. For the election of 1774, see *ibid.* p. 23. In the papers of John Robinson at the British Museum there is "An Account of Payments made by Lord North, submitted to His Majesty for his Orders which of them he will be pleased to have continued and delivered over" (Add. MSS. 37836, ff. 137-9). The paper was obviously drawn up on the fall of the North Administration in 1782. Under "Payments for Parliamentary Purposes" (f. 138) appears the following entry of annual payments:

Camelford.	Mr. Phillips . .	£100 0 0	£150 0 0
	Mr. Carpenter . .	50 0 0	

than is usually supposed. Here it occurred in a borough which up to 1758 had been discussed in terms of a few "interests", without any indication of how suddenly and completely they could be overthrown.

The Corporation of Grampound consisted of a mayor, eight aldermen, a recorder, and a town clerk; "and as soon as the mayor was chosen from among the aldermen he selected two of his aldermanic colleagues, called *eligers*, to join with him in nominating eleven freemen. These fourteen worthies formed a jury, made presentments and created freemen, whose only qualification was the payment of scot and lot".[1] As was stated by Lord Edgcumbe's steward, the Bench had "a power of increasing the number of freemen. . . ." When there were no contests in the borough, its managers naturally tried to avoid any such increase; but whenever a struggle arose for the control of the borough, each side endeavoured to create new freemen in its own interest.

In 1741 Grampound was contested between the Government and the Prince of Wales; the Government candidates put up by Sir Richard Edgcumbe (subsequently first Lord Edgcumbe) obtained 35 votes each, the opposition candidates 17 votes each; but after the fall of Sir Robert Walpole the latter were seated on petition.

In 1747 Thomas Pitt, the elder brother of William Pitt, and Thomas Hawkins, the son of Christopher Hawkins (a Cornish gentleman of Trewithan, in the neighbourhood of Grampound, who until recently had been connected with the Edgcumbes), came forward as the candidates of the Prince of Wales, who "intended" them "the honour of being considered a coprincipall as well in the last as in future engagements".[2] The game was not easy, as the

[1] W. P. Courtney, *The Parliamentary Representation of Cornwall to 1832*, p. 184. See also Oldfield, *op. cit.* p. 70.

[2] Christopher Hawkins to Thomas Pitt, January 4, 1747, Hist. MSS. Comm., *Fortescue MSS.*, vol. i. p. 107.

Mayor was against them and there was the danger of his admitting new freemen and rejecting some of theirs.[1] Still, with the support of a few other Cornish gentlemen and a disregard of expense, they hoped to carry the borough. The story is told in letters from Thomas Pitt to his brother-in-law, the Rev. Dr. Ayscough, one of the chief political agents of the Prince of Wales :

June 12, 1747.—On Wednesday we went round the town and found the people, as one must expect, in such a venal place, some open in promising us, and others hanging off to see what they can make of it ; but none said they had promised against us, not even those who we know are determined against us. . . . As you tell me, I am not to give up on any appearance of difficulties, I have issued forth the insidious arguement plentifully. . . . I have likewise bid high for the Mayor.[2]

June 13, 1747.—As for Grampound I think we can carry it, but it must cost damnably dear. The villains have got a-head to that degree, and rise in their demands so extravagantly, that I have been very near damning them, and kicking them to the devil at once. The dirty rascals dispise 20 guineas as much as a King's Sergeant does a half-guinea fee. If it had not been for the orders by your letter, spare neither pains nor money, I would not have gone on at such a rate. . . .[3]

By June 19 Pitt hoped for only one seat at Grampound ; "and perhaps Hawkins may give up to me, for he is sweated at the expence ".[4] And on July 1 he reported that at Grampound "the affair is compounded one and one",[5] *i.e.* that their side and Lord Edgcumbe were to return one Member each. As between Pitt and Hawkins it was agreed that they should nominate alternately to their common seat, each paying the expenses whenever he had the nomination.[6] " . . . I have . . . thought proper to give

[1] See T. Pitt to C. Hawkins, December 5, 1746, and January 17, 1747, *op. cit.* p. 107, and T. Pitt to Dr. Ayscough, June 12, 1747, p. 110.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 110.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 111.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 114.

[5] *Ibid.* p. 119.

[6] For the text of the agreement dated June 30, 1747, see *Fortescue Papers*, vol. i. p. 121.

Mr. Hawkins his option to be elected and take the whole expence upon him, or leave it to me. I believe the expence will make him chuse the latter ".[1] But Hawkins chose to have his son elected, and Pitt consoled himself with the thought that Hawkins had it " upon a very dear footing ", and that " the money will come like drops of blood from him ".[2] In August Pitt presented Hawkins with his bill, in September insisted on payment, and in October desired to know whether he was to look " upon the office of Vice Warden as actually resigned " [3]—Pitt was Warden of the Stanneries, and Hawkins his Vice-Warden. By November a critical stage had been reached in the electoral history of Grampound, steps having been taken by Lord Edgcumbe and Hawkins " to get rid of forty or fifty disreputable and very troublesome fellows on both sides and to render matters as easy and quiet for the future as things of this nature will admit off ". But before perfecting these arrangements, Hawkins, who had old connexions with Edgcumbe and a new quarrel with Thomas Pitt, desired Ayscough to let him know " on what footing he was to be for the future, as well as for the time past. . . .".[4] Obviously, in order to placate Hawkins, after Pitt's bills and behaviour, the Prince of Wales ordered a reduction in the charges of the previous election and annexed a salary to the office of Vice-Warden, which it did not carry before ; whereupon Hawkins promised faithfully to do his election work and to settle the borough in so " frugall " a manner that in future a Parliamentary election should not cost more than " 7 or 800l. at the most ".[5]

[1] T. Pitt to Dr. Ayscough, July 1, 1747, *op. cit.* p. 119.

[2] T. Pitt to Dr. Ayscough, August 2, 1747, *op. cit.* p. 127.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 128.

[4] C. Hawkins to Dr. Ayscough, November 8, 1747, *op. cit.* p. 129 ; cf. also about it letter from Robert Andrews to John Roberts, March 20, 1754 ; Add. MSS. 32862, ff. 351-2.

[5] C. Hawkins to Dr. Ayscough, December 12, 1747, p. 129.

But when the election of the Mayor came on at Grampound, in September 1748, Pitt, mad and quarrelsome, openly attacked Hawkins and Edgcumbe,[1] and on September 27 thus reported the matter to Ayscough :

Mr. Hawkins' behaviour I found was treacherous and base towards me, and the interest he pretended to engage in [of the Prince of Wales], and for which he had a salary appointed last winter, in joining with Lord Edgcumbe to turn me absolutely out of the burrough, that I have thought it necessary to make use of a favourable opportunity of turning the tables upon them, which I hope I have done, and think it is in my power to turn them both out. I have elected the Mayor, and have at least 3 parts in 4 of the people most zealously with me. . . .[2]

Hawkins in turn described to Ayscough how Pitt appeared at Grampound " full of passion and resentment ", and added the following conjectures :

The reasons which have occurred to me for this attempt are these. By the death of Moor, the magistrates (held indisputable) are now reduced to four, White, Pomeroy, Nance, and Pearce ; (Hoyt illegal). Nance a man poor, but of a bold and turbulent spirit, not being able to bear seeing the burrough likely to be reduced to some order and peace, prevailed on Pearce to go with him to Boconnock [Pitt's Cornish seat] with a tender of their services, and with assurances that if Hoyt could have his debts paid to Mr. Hawkins, be established a magistrate, and some of the disclaimers restored, the next election should be as Mr. Pitt pleased.[3]

But as the scheme for disfranchising fifty voters at Grampound turned on Hoyt " being no *legall magistrate* ", Pitt's action threatened to endanger the work undertaken by Edgcumbe and Hawkins. Pitt triumphantly announced to Ayscough :

. . . They have no chance of keeping their heads above water, but disqualifying Hoyte from being a magistrate or capital burgess. . . . This must be defended. . . . It has already cost me upwards

[1] C. Hawkins to Dr. Ayscough, September 14, 1748, p. 130.
[2] *Op. cit.* p. 130.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 131.

of 200*l.* and must cost more ; yet I think it worth while, as the entire interest of the burrough depends upon it.

I wish James Nance had his patent of tinblower. . . .[1]

Hawkins was ready to accept the challenge, and politely refused the mediation of Dr. Ayscough ; but Thomas Pitt's financial ruin, to which the Cornish elections had contributed their share, now compelled him to desist. Here ends the part of the history of Grampound contained in the Fortescue Papers, and henceforth it is continued from the Newcastle MSS. at the British Museum.

When it was agreed that Pitt should transfer his interest to some other person, recounts Robert Andrews, " I having then the honour to be in his R-l H-h-s's service as Auditor of the Dutchy, and on that account going every year into Cornwal, his Royal Highness pitched upon me for that duty ".[2] An agreement was concluded between Hawkins and Andrews whereby Andrews stepped into Pitt's shoes.[3] By the time of the Prince's death (March 20, 1751), *i.e.* in less than two years, their half of the expenditure on Grampound amounted to about £1500, two-thirds of which had been spent on the lawsuits for reducing the electorate.[4]

[1] October 12, 1748 ; *op. cit.* p. 132.

[2] R. Andrews to John Roberts ; Add. MSS. 32862, ff. 351-2.

[3] For its text see *ibid.* ff. 343-4.

[4] In the Newcastle MSS. there is a paper giving " Totalls of Lord Edgcumbe's disbursements on several following Burroughs, since the last Generall Election in July 1747 " (Add. MSS. 33038, f. 236) ; it is not dated, but the sum spent on Grampound seems to indicate that it was compiled at the time of the Prince's death. Grampound appears at that time as the most expensive of the boroughs in which Edgcumbe was concerned :

Grampound . . .	£1445	4	2
Lostwithiel . . .	1271	19	1
Bossiney	126	18	2
Fowey	110	9	2½
Mitchell	199	10	5
	£3154	1	11½ [*sic*]

But the Princess Dowager refusing to concern herself in elections, Hawkins and Andrews now offered their services to Henry Pelham, and were accepted by him [1]—an act of infeudation on the part of managers.

At the general election of 1754, Simon Fanshawe, a friend of Henry Pelham's nephew and son-in-law, Lord Lincoln, and a Court parasite, for the time being of the Whig species, was named by the Treasury to Andrews, whose turn it was to nominate one Member, whilst Merrick Burrell, a London merchant and a Director of the Bank of England, was returned on the Edgcumbe interest.[2]

But two years later, on January 31, 1756, Robert Andrews is still found applying to the Duke of Newcastle "for the £1500 due to me in respect of the Grampound election". This claim he reinforced by the following appeal of a truly eighteenth-century character:

> I am, my Lord, by Dr. Shaw's advice, going in a short time to Bath, to aid a very worn-out constitution, the event is very uncertain, and it is my dernier resort, and as this sum will greatly affect my family in case I miscarry in recovering my health, the having it paid before I go, will much contribute to my ease of mind, and consequently benefit the re-establishing my health.[3]

Newcastle turned to John Roberts, who, as late private secretary to Henry Pelham, was most likely to know the arrangements made between him and Andrews; and

[1] See note from C. Hawkins to Robert Andrews, November 24, 1751, with a marginal remark in Andrews's handwriting; Add. MSS. 32862, f. 345. Also letter from Robert Andrews to John Roberts, March 20, 1754; *ibid.* ff. 351-2.

[2] There were at first some difficulties as to how much each of them was to pay (see Newcastle's Memoranda of March 16 and 18, 1754; Add. MSS. 32995, ff. 96-9); finally it was settled that "Mr. Fanshaw pays 1000*l.* to Mr. Andrews. Mr. Burrell will pay 1600 to Mr. Roberts" ("Minutes", March 21, 1754; *ibid.* f. 111; see also f. 116).

[3] Robert Andrews to the Duke of Newcastle, January 31, 1756; Add. MSS. 32862, ff. 313-14.

Roberts, in reply, sent whatever papers he had concerning Grampound, adding:

> What passed between Mr. Pelham, Lord Edgcumbe, and Mr. Hawkins of Grampound . . . I never heard . . .; but when the agreement between Mr. Hawkins and Mr. Andrews . . . was delivered to Mr. Pelham, he then was pleased to say to me thereupon, that the King would certainly not bear to hear of an application to him for the reimbursement of expenses incurred in direct opposition to his Government.

Roberts had thought that Andrews' employment of Comptroller of the Cash in the Excise had been given him in compensation for these disbursements, but Andrews denied this; and the joint expenses of Andrews and Lord Edgcumbe were about £6000—"an expense much greater surely than the object. . . ."[1]

Among the papers transmitted by Roberts was "An Account of Disbursements made in Respect of the Interest at the Burrough of Grampound" (January 1748 to March 1754), four long sheets of paper, telling the story of how such a Cornish borough had to be managed. The most striking feature is the individual character of the treatment accorded to the voters. At the time of a Parliamentary election there was a certain measure of uniformity in payments, coupled here and there with attempts to equalise the benefits received during the preceding years. But even so there remained considerable differences for which the reasons do not appear in the accounts. In some cases the managers perhaps let themselves in for more than they had expected; here, *e.g.*, is the story of a Grampound freeman who bore the name of John Hodge:

	£	s.	d.
January 7, 1748. To John Hodge, a freeman, to discharge him from his several creditors for an horse to go about his business on	13	14	1

[1] John Roberts to the Duke of Newcastle, February 4, 1756; Add. MSS. 32862, ff. 341-2.

	£	s.	d.
Sept. 26. To paid and advanced to and for John Hodge £51 : 11 : 8 for which he hath given bond for £25 : 15 : 10 to my Lord [Edgcumbe] and £25 : 15 : 10 to Messrs. Hawkins and Andrews . . .	25	15	10
January 7, 1750. Paid Mr. Walker rent due to him from John Hodge, freeman	6	0	0
January 19. Given to the said John Hodge . .	0	13	6
January 26. To ditto	0	10	6
February 1. Given to John Hodge	0	5	3
October 10, 1753. To cash advanced since Michaelmas, 1753, to John Hodge . . . who being considerably more indebted than the 50 guineas amounted to [the total received before the general election by each freeman from both the patrons of the borough], was not paid the sum, but had some small sums given him to keep him easy . . .	5	15	6
——. To paid for a laced hat for John Hodge	0	5	3

And then, presumably on April 8, 1754, a last payment was made to save the money previously invested in his vote.

	£	s.	d.
. . . advanced to discharge John Hodge from an arrest made on him, by Mr. Bonython, the day before the election	5	16	6

The payments to John Hodge, freeman, on account of one party in the borough management, make a total of £58 : 16 : 5 ; thus his vote cost the two patrons during the six years preceding the general election of 1754 nearly £120 !

Every year, at least once before Michaelmas, when the election of the Mayor came on, a largesse seems to have been distributed to all the freemen ; it took the form of advances " against their notes ", which naturally were never brought up so long as the recipients kept to their electoral engagements. The amounts paid to them ranged from 10s. 6d. to £3 : 10s. from each of the two parties in the borough management. Some freemen had their own

special terms, receiving payments, *e.g.*, of 3s. a week from each patron; some others were on yearly allowances at a higher rate. Further, there were special benefits in case of sickness, payments for funerals, schooling, etc. In short, the franchise served as a general free insurance. And even more—here is one of the most interesting entries in the accounts:

	£	s.	d.
October 28, 1752. Paid for fitting out Mr. Walker, a freeman's son, to the East Indies	50	0	0

Lastly, there was general expenditure for the benefit of the whole town, repairs to the Town Hall, the chapel, to the town clock, etc.; and on special occasions "a bullock" was distributed among "the Grampound poor".

The Mayor received each year from each of the two parties in the borough management ten guineas "kitchen money"; whilst Lord Edgcumbe's steward, Mr. Thomas Jones, who acted as "principal agent for the whole interest", received from Andrews "for one year's trouble and expenses in managing the affairs of the burrough", £25. But naturally, in the year of the general election, all charges swelled prodigiously. The Mayor and five capital burgesses received fifty guineas each, from each of the two patrons; twenty freemen, twenty-five guineas each; and a few other freemen, who were on regular allowances or badly overdrawn, received small consolation prizes. Mr. Thomas Jones, "for his extraordinary trouble to the day of the election", was given £50. The Mayor, "by way of gratuity for his extra trouble", twenty-five guineas, and his wife, "for extraordinary expenses at her house for the last half-year", ten guineas. To each freeman's wife, "and where no wife, to his eldest daughter", one guinea was given "to buy a ring". "Digory Tresize, a freeman." had a "suit of cloaths" paid for (£1 : 12 : 2) etc. (those interested in prices should, however, remember that these entries stand for half the amount only).

The other side of life in the electoral nursery also appears in the accounts—punishments meted out to the dishonest:

	£	s.	d.
January 7, 1748. Paid Mr. Webber, an attorney, for prosecuting John Pearce, a freeman who had acted contrary to his engagements	6	14	0
February 1, 1750. To costs paid Richard Sandys, attorney-at-law, costs in prosecuting three freemen . . . for not performing their engagements .	19	16	5
[1754.] To cash advanced to John Watts, another freeman, on his solemn engagement to stand by the interest which he deserted, hath been arrested, and is now in Bodmyn prison for the same money .	24	18	0
To paid charges of the arrest and law charges already incurred, and which will be incurred to keep him in prison and charge him in execution .	7	15	0

The ordinary expenditure on Grampound during the six years preceding the general election of 1754 amounted to about £2100 for each of the two parties in the management of the borough; to this a further £800 was added for legal expenses incurred in 1748–49 in connexion with reducing the electorate to such "frugall" dimensions. The total bill as presented by Andrews amounted to £2931 : 4 : 8, *i.e.* half of the £6000, which, as John Roberts remarked, was "an expense much greater surely than the object. . . ."

But even so, the Grampound electors do not seem to have been satisfied with the management. "This borough", wrote Oldfield in 1820, "was formerly under the management of Lord Mount-Edgcumbe,[1] but a dispute arising between his lordship's steward and the voters, respecting the payment of gratuities *before* or *after* an election; the latter not thinking it proper to give *credit*, went in a body, and offered the command of the borough to Lord Eliot,

[1] George, third Lord Edgcumbe, was created Viscount Mount-Edgcumbe in 1781.

who had the nomination of its members till 1802. . . ." [1] This statement is neither confirmed nor disproved by the detailed accounts of the transfer of allegiance, preserved in the Newcastle MSS., where its circumstances are given but not its reasons. The change occurred in 1758, not at an election, but on the death of Richard, first Lord Edgcumbe—which circumstance is in itself characteristic: it shows the quasi-feudal sense of personal allegiance terminated by the death of the man to whom they had infeoffed themselves. For although Richard, second Lord Edgcumbe, wrote to the Duke of Newcastle—"I am persuaded, that had my father lived, they would equally have flewn off from him" [2]—this personal belief may easily have been prompted by the wish not to appear an unpopular or unskilful borough manager.

On November 28, 1758, Lord Edgcumbe wrote to the Duke of Newcastle: ". . . Messrs. Eliot and Trevanion have set up their standard at Grampond [*sic*]. I am little acquainted with the state of my father's interest there, or whether 'tis worth endeavouring to preserve or not." Still, he asked the Duke to refrain for the time being from entering into engagements with "this new alliance". "These are two stirring young gentlemen, and, may be, think to take advantage of me, as one of an opposite character. But the world shall see that if I have been idle, it was only because I had nothing to do." [3]

On the same day (November 28, 1758) Edward Eliot [4] wrote to the Duke of Newcastle:

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[1] *Key to the House of Commons* (1820), p. 70.

[2] May 20, 1760; Add. MSS. 32906, ff. 184-5.

[3] Add. MSS. 32886, f. 76.

[4] Edward Eliot was anyhow a big Cornish borough patron—he had already four seats at his disposal, two at Liskeard and two at St. Germans. He was a lineal descendant of the great Sir John Eliot, of Port Eliot, the leader in the struggle of the House of Commons against Charles I. John Eliot died in the Tower, Edward Eliot finished in the House of Lords.

. . . The Mayor and Magistrates of Grampound have prevailed upon Mr. Trevanion [1] and myself to accept of the Parliamentary interest of that borough.

When they first proposed it, after having thanked them, I added —that I should always endeavour to support and to defend the interest which I had already in my country, but did not propose to attack Lord Edgcumbe. They answered me by saying, that I might lay it down as *an ulterable* [sic] *principle with them* to have no further connexions with the family of Edgcumbe after the late Lord's death : that having a higher opinion and a greater friendship and respect for Mr. Trevanion and for me than for anybody else whatsoever, they made us the first offer of the borough ; that if we refused it, they should be extremely grieved but would in that case most certainly make an offer elsewhere.

They proceeded to tell me, that they were friends to Government, and should be very unwilling to throw the town into any hands which were not so likewise, but that however they were resolved to do anything or suffer any extremity rather than engage afresh in the Edgcumbe interest.

Knowing them to be " men most particularly firm in their resolutions ", Eliot and Trevanion thought that they would not be doing their duty to Government and to themselves if they rejected this offer.

We therefore (after the late Lord Edgcumbe's agent had by letter notified his Lordship's death) appeared at Grampound last Saturday where we were received by the body of the freemen with the greatest joy and had the strongest assurances of their support.

Their number is small, we have nine out of ten. The mayor and magistrates are with us most zealously and unanimously. They can make what freemen they please, and are determined, upon the least occasion, to exert that power.

In short, my Lord Duke, with a little attention on our parts, all the security and certainty that borough affairs ever can admit of, we have at Grampound.

Lastly, Eliot pointed out to Newcastle that " by a written agreement " the Edgcumbe interest named one member only, the other being chosen alternately by Hawkins and Andrews ;

[1] William Trevanion, M.P. for Tregony, 1747–67.

Hawkins, "one of those gentlemen commonly called Tories", was to have been returned at the next election. Thus the change meant "a gain" to Government.[1]

Here was a complete change in patrons and management in a Cornish borough, but at the general election of 1761 the same two candidates favoured by the Government were re-elected, Merrick Burrell and Simon Fanshawe. Cornish boroughs and elections and the management of both had nothing to do with "politics".

Personnel and Votes

In conclusion to this review of the Cornish boroughs, let us consider the 44 Cornish Members returned in 1761 (here I include the two knights of the shire) and the way in which the Cornish representatives voted in the three crucial divisions previously analysed.[2]

The representation of Cornwall was much less aristocratic than that of the rest of Great Britain: 93 sons of British peers entered Parliament in 1761, and Cornwall's proportionate share would have been at least seven—but there were only three,[3] two Boscawens and one Edgcumbe, whose families owed their peerages to their Cornish borough interests; whilst of 34 courtesy lords, none sat for a Cornish constituency. Seventy-one baronets were returned in 1761, but only two in Cornwall.

Classified by professions, the representation of Cornwall in 1761 included five merchants,[4] forming a higher proportion than in the rest of Great Britain, five army [5] and three naval officers,[6] again more than the average; four

[1] Add. MSS. 32886, ff. 78-9. [2] See pp. 182-90.

[3] I do not count Ph. Stanhope, as he was illegitimate.

[4] Merrick and Peter Burrell, Bartholomew Burton, John Stephenson, and Abraham Hume.

[5] John and George Boscawen, Charles Hotham, G. Howard, and E. Nugent.

[6] G. Edgcumbe, G. B. Rodney, and W. Trelawny.

(out of a total of eight) regular officials,[1] one diplomat ;[2] and four barristers.[3] In short, exactly half of the representation of Cornwall consisted of merchants, officers, civil servants, and lawyers, whilst in the rest of Great Britain they formed hardly one-third of the representation.

The proportion of strangers among the Cornish Members was naturally considerable, though not greater than in Devonshire, Dorset, or Wiltshire. Of the 44 Cornish Members in 1761, 15 were Cornishmen (13 of them with a long Parliamentary ancestry), 4 were connected with the county through female ancestors, whilst 25 were strangers, the majority of them with no Parliamentary ancestry anywhere. But in Devonshire, in 1761, 14 out of 26 Members had no previous connexion with the county, in Wiltshire 18 in 34, in Dorset 12 in 20. If one seeks a real contrast to the representation of Cornwall, one has to turn to counties such as Norfolk and Lincolnshire, or even Yorkshire, in spite of its numerous pocket boroughs. In 1761, of the 12 Members representing Norfolk constituencies, six were sons of British peers and two were baronets ; not a single one was a merchant, an official, or a practising lawyer ; and only one was a stranger to the county. Of the 12 Members representing Lincolnshire, four were sons of British peers (three courtesy lords), one a son of an Irish peer, and one a baronet ; and only one single Member was a merchant and a stranger to the county. Yorkshire was represented by 30 Members ; five were sons of peers (three courtesy lords) and six baronets ; one was a merchant, and none a regular civil servant ; eleven were strangers, mainly put in for pocket boroughs.

In 1761, of the 44 Cornish Members, 19 were "placemen" in the sense given to the term in my computation on p. 266 (footnote (2)), as against 151 in the rest of Great

[1] S. Martin, John Clevland, Ph. Stephens, and F. Gashry.

[2] Ph. Stanhope.

[3] R. Hussey, J. R. Webb, F. Buller, and A. Champion.

Britain—making 43 as against 30 per cent. Moreover, the proportion of Members who depended for their seats on Government support or mediation was very much higher in Cornwall than in any other county. This fact naturally tended to affect Parliamentary divisions. In that on General Warrants, on February 17–18, 1764, 19 (including the two Members for the county) voted in the minority and six were absent; therefore at the utmost 19 could have voted with the Government. Taking representatives of boroughs alone, we get about the same proportion in Cornwall as in the total of smaller boroughs; this time the strength of the Government influence in Cornwall was counteracted by the fact that the Administration of 1764 had not been in office at the previous general election. On February 21–22, 1766, only seven Cornish Members voted against the Repeal of the Stamp Act,[1] *i.e.* 16 per cent of the representation, which is even less than among the representatives of the larger boroughs, and much below the average for the whole of England (27 per cent). But after the Administration of 1768 had carried through its own general election, the Cornish representation, on February 3, 1769, gave an overwhelming vote in favour of Wilkes's expulsion. Twenty voted for it, only 9 against it, whilst 13 were absent and 2 are unaccounted for.

[1] These were: Lord Mountstuart, the eldest son of Lord Bute; S. Martin, Bute's Secretary to the Treasury; S. Fanshawe, a courtier; J. E. Colleton and E. Nugent, both connected through Robert Nugent with George Grenville; John Stephenson, an adherent of Lord Sandwich; and F. W. Sharpe, a nephew of the Governor of Maryland, Horatio Sharpe. It is curious to note that two of these seven were born in the West Indies (Martin and Colleton, who, moreover, was closely connected with South Carolina), and one, F. W. Sharpe, had connexions both with the American Colonies and the West Indies. I follow here the printed list; see pp. 187-8.

VII

TWO TREASURY BOROUGHS

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Harwich

At Harwich the Parliamentary franchise was in the corporation, which consisted of eight aldermen and twenty-four "capital burgesses" recruited by co-optation; and as most of them were in some way or other provided for by the Government, the borough was under its control. Even so its history was variegated. The Government influence was in two departments, which did not always work together harmoniously—the Treasury, whose influence was exercised through the Custom House, and the Post Office in control of the four Harwich Packet Boats, whose captains were "generally elected into the corporation".[1] Moreover, at various times Ministers and managers tried to convert the official interest at Harwich into private domain—as was generally the custom in the eighteenth century with regard to public property.

Boroughs could be literally owned where the vote was attached to certain holdings or houses, and the voters were created just for the day of the election. But the Crown did not, and could not, own burgage boroughs; whilst in corporation boroughs, such as Harwich, "capital burgesses" had to be chosen whenever vacancies occurred, and could

[1] John Roberts to the Duke of Newcastle, August 5, 1755; Add. MSS. 32857, ff. 590–91. The Admiralty also had a certain influence at Harwich; see letter from Lord Leicester to the Duke of Bedford, August 2, 1745 (*Bedford Correspondence*, vol. i. pp. 30-33).

not be removed, if duly elected. Their allegiance in Government boroughs was secured by choosing into the corporations men who held (or aspired to) places under the Government, and who therefore were likely to be determined by a threat of dismissal. Such control, though fairly secure, was not absolute, and close acquaintance with the men and their circumstances and much attention were required; the management had to be local and personal.

In the eighteenth century each Minister treated Parliamentary seats controlled by his department as perquisites of his office, and, nepotism being an acknowledged principle in administration, it was taken for granted that his relatives had a first claim to them. Similarly, the local Government manager would pack the corporation under his care, as far as possible, with his own relatives, and thus provide for them financially and for himself politically. In theory, selections of this kind were justified as offering additional security for the behaviour of the nominees, bound as they were by personal ties to a man ever zealous for "His Majesty's service". But in practice, wherever this system was allowed to prevail, the manager tended to become a partner in the borough; indeed, in some Government boroughs the management of the corporation came to be hereditary in local families (*e.g.* the Holdsworths at Dartmouth, the Milwards at Hastings, etc.), and occasionally even a small manager finished by claiming and obtaining Government nomination to Parliament for himself or a son, brought up as a gentleman. In the case of Ministers and Governors, with whom the management of Government boroughs was an incident and not a profession, the matter was more complicated; but if their own estates were anywhere near the Government borough—which was often the case with territorial officers, such as the Warden of the Cinque Ports or the Governor of the Isle of Wight—they usually employed the official influence to strengthen their

private interest, and sometimes succeeded in changing office perquisites into heirlooms.

Harwich escaped being converted from an electoral fief into an "allodial" possession, but not for lack of attempts in that direction.

In 1754 the Members returned for Harwich were Wenman Coke, the nephew and heir of Thomas, Earl of Leicester, then Postmaster-General; and John Phillipson, a typical representative of a local official dynasty.

His father, Captain John Phillipson, had been Agent of the Harwich Packet Boats, and his mother was the daughter of a previous Agent; some time between 1727 and 1734, John Phillipson, sen., addressed the following Memorial to Sir Robert Walpole:

He has been fifty years in the service of the Post Office, did command one of the packet boats the two Wars with France, during which he distinguished himself by his diligence and behaviour, particularly in two actions, when attack'd by Dunkirk privateers, he got clear of one, and boarded the other, took her, and brought her into Harwich.

He has been many years one of the capital burgesses, and alderman of the Corporation of Harwich, and several times Mayor. This town sends two Members to Parliament, and that it might be properly represented, he has always endeavoured to get the majority of electors in the interest of the Government and on every vacancy of a capital burgess, has espoused such as had any dependance on it.

At his late Majesty's happy accession to the Throne, Mr. Mildmay (a Tory), Sir Philip Parker and Mr. Heath (Whiggs) were candidates for Members of Parliament, he gave his vote and interest for the two latter. The next election Mr. Parsons (a Tory), Sir Philip Parker and Mr. Heath were candidates, he gave his vote and interest for the two latter, and as a strong proof of his regard to your Honour, at the last election, notwithstanding his son was a candidate and had the best interest of any body, yet he declined standing by command from his father, to whom it had been intimated that you desired Lord Percival and Sir Philip Parker might be chosen, and they were unanimously.

It is indeed his peculiar happyness that on every election, throughout his life, either in the Town of Harwich, or County of Essex, he has voted agreable to the Post-Master Generall and inclined others so to do. He therefore most humbly begs your protection, and that he may not be dismiss'd a Service in which he has had the honour to serve so many years, and, as he hopes, without blemish.[1]

The history of the Phillipsons is that of many an English political family which, after a long process of incubation in minor Government offices, pecked its way into the first division of English public life. In their case this seems to have happened in those realms of legalised jobbery where, in the eighteenth century, Government officials met and co-operated with Government contractors. Unfortunately nothing is known about the early life of John Phillipson, jun., and only the bare outlines can be traced of his later career.

In 1734 he was returned to Parliament for New Shoreham, in Sussex, a borough where the Treasury and the Pelhams had some influence, but where even their candidates needed long City purses; and where shipbuilders were specially welcome, this being the chief trade of the town. One is therefore led to presume that by 1734 John Phillipson, jun., was a wealthy man and, combining his activities at Shoreham with certain incidental remarks about later orders given by him to shipbuilders,[2] to conclude that he was somehow concerned in shipbuilding, on Government account or perhaps as a merchant. Next he is found in the financial departments of the Navy, the Service with which his family had long been connected. In May 1738 he was appointed Comptroller of the (Naval) Storekeeper's Accounts, and in 1740 Comptroller of the Treasurer's Accounts. Moreover, about that time he became a

[1] Add. MSS. 19038, f. 18.

[2] See below letter from G. Davies to John Roberts, July 15, 1755, quoted on p. 450.

Director of the South Sea Company, which included many Government financiers. In 1741 he was at last returned to Parliament for Harwich, where, until checked by Mr. Pelham, he continued to improve his family-interest. Thus in 1745 Lord Leicester complained to the Duke of Bedford of Phillipson's views "to get the borough absolutely to himself, independent of the government", and of his "having got such people into places as he could depend upon. . . ". "He works so well with those under me, that they not only refused my orders in the choice of a burgess, but, even while in place under me, and in my chief trust, . . . brought in his creatures upon the floor [of the corporation] . . . if Mr. Pelham, who now supports him, does not immediately take care, he will . . . become absolute master of the borough. . . ." [1]

But to return to Phillipson's official career—for one year, December 1743 till December 1744, he held a seat at the Board of the Admiralty, an advance remarkable for the son of the Agent of the Harwich Packet Boats, perhaps even excessive, as he had neither family connexions [2] nor

[1] *Bedford Correspondence*, vol. i. pp. 30-33.—On May 4, 1750, Robert Page, a member of the Harwich corporation, addressed the following letter of warning to Henry Pelham:

Right Hon^ble.

it is whispered about town that your Honour is inclined to oblige Mr. Phillipson to give countenance to the election of his kinsman Mr. Holden, if your Honour would be pleased to calculate the number of his relations now Cappetal Burgeiceis, your Honour I believe would be rady to think as I doe, that it would be dangerious to leat him have any more, for wee are pritty well acquainted with his constitution and tirony, that reaally it is my opinion the way to keep him a friend is to keep it out of his power to be an ennimi. . . . (Add. MSS. 32735, f. 314).

[2] When on one occasion it was suggested to Phillipson that he did not behave altogether like a gentleman, "he answer'd angrily . . . he could trace his pedegree further back than somebody else, but did not name whom he means" (Add. MSS. 32735, f. 312). It would seem from the context that he meant Wenman Coke, which, however, does not help us with his own pedigree.

any marked achievements to his credit. Anyhow, he had to leave the Admiralty, but was compensated with the place of "Surveyor of Woods and Parks on this side of the Trent." He retained it till his death in 1756, by which time he had risen to be Deputy-Governor of the South Sea Company.[1]

When in March 1754 the Duke of Newcastle succeeded Henry Pelham at the Treasury, Charles Hanbury-Williams wrote to Henry Fox: "To whom are the Members of the House of Commons to address themselves? To the D. of Newcastle? Alas! he wont know their names in two years, and will forget them in two days."[2] The repetition necessitated by the Duke's incapacity to remember was annoying to contemporaries, but has provided plentiful material for the historian: thus *e.g.* the state of Harwich had to be repeatedly explained to him by John Roberts, Pelham's late assistant in the management of Government boroughs.

The most concise account is in a memorandum,[3] apparently drawn up in 1754, when Newcastle took over his brother's official legacy:

> The borough of Harwich is at present so well disposed to the Government, that they readily accept of any two persons to represent them, who are recommended by it.
>
> This was not the case some years ago: the Post-Master General claimed the right of recommending, and a private interest [Phillipson's] had likewise great weight: but Mr. Pelham was determined to alter that situation, and by proper resolution effected it. He

[1] Phillipson's only daughter married Robert Bristow, a London merchant and nephew of John Bristow, a famous Government contractor and Director of the South Sea Company, of which he was in 1754 Deputy-Governor, and in 1759, Sub-Governor, *i.e.* chief, as the King was its nominal Governor. To Bristow, Phillipson may have partly owed his rise in the Company. Robert Bristow sat from 1747 till 1761 for Phillipson's first constituency, New Shoreham.

[2] *Letters to Henry Fox*, edited by the Earl of Ilchester (1915), p. 60.

[3] Add. MSS. 32735, ff. 308-9.

consulted and depended entirely upon the reports of Mr. Davies, Collector of the Customs, whom he found, from the experience of many years, to be a zealous Whig, an honest and a dextrous man. The Post-Master General often tried his interest to remove him, and Mr. Philipson did the same: but each of them gave up any further expectations of succeeding, finding Mr. Pelham resolved to carry on the Government's interest thro' the Officer of the Customs, and convinced of Mr. Davies's fidelity.

Mr. Pelham had many eclaircissemens with Mr. Philipson upon this subject: the latter of whom, in the end, promised solemnly never to interfere in any matters relating to the Corporation: and the Treasury had brought the Post-Office not to disallow, that the recommendations of Members belonged to the former.

The interest there is maintained by the Officers of the Customs, the Masters of the Pacquets nominated by the Post-Master General, and by the lands and houses in the town.

Mr. Philipson applied for a lease of these lands: but Mr. Pelham would by no means consent to it; on the contrary, thought proper to grant a lease of them to Mr. Roberts, not only in order to keep that part of the interest in his own hands, but to shew Mr. Philipson that he would not suffer him to meddle in the Corporation: and Mr. Philipson has often appealed to Mr. Roberts how strictly he had kept the promise he had made to be quiet.

If Mr. Davies should be removed from his office, the interest of the Treasury will suffer considerably, and perhaps can never be recovered.

Griffith Davies, the Collector of the Customs, was in 1754 Mayor of Harwich, and as such had to get Wenman Coke and John Phillipson re-elected for the borough. But although, obeying orders from the Treasury, he laboured in the service of these candidates, he was requited by them with slights and attacks—which, with much picturesque detail, he recounted to Roberts in a lengthy memorandum.[1]

At a dinner with the Corporation Davies sat next to Phillipson, who thus

had an opertunity of insulting without being heard by the whole company. He said amongst other things that the Duke of New-

[1] May 1754; Add. MSS. 32735, ff. 310-13.

castle had sent for him some time ago, and after *kissing* and *hugging* him, and that sort of stuff, *as he term'd it*, he beg'd he would take Shoreham in hand, which to oblige him he had undertaken, and had cost him near £5000 [1] . . . in consideration of which the Duke bid him do what he would at Harwich, by puting in or out as he pleased.

After this significant introduction, Phillipson proceeded to tell Davies in a sneering manner:

Your friend Roberts is not to continue with the Duke as he was with Mr. Pelham; . . . he told me so himself, and that he was only with him to communicate what he could recollect of Mr. Pelham's intentions concerning the elections.—And then said, your friend Mr. Pelham (as you call him) . . . whenever I mentioned any thing about Harwich to him, he often said Damn Harwich, I wish it was under water, it was you brought that fellow Davies to me first. And your friend Roberts told me t'other day that it was very absurd to set one public office to govern the whole town . . . And that he had no notion of one man's acting as a little Minister and tyranizeing over all the rest, and that he believed it would not be so in future.

As for Lord Leicester, according to Phillipson, it was his desire that the officers of the Customs and Post Office should agree and live neighbourly, and that in future they whose fault it was that they did not, let them take care &c[a]—To which I reply'd that I had taken a great deal of pains to bring that about; but had never been able to effect it: nor never could be effectually done as long as the Post Office attempted to keep up a separate interest from that of the Government. . . .

Hines, the postmaster, and his brother, contributed their share to inter-departmental amenities in the Government borough of Harwich; they opened and stopped letters of the Custom House officials, and spread rumours that Davies would soon be dismissed, or at least removed from Harwich.

[1] This election of Phillipson's son-in-law at Shoreham anyhow cost the Treasury £1000. The following entry appears in Roberts's accounts of secret service money on May 2, 1754: "Mr. P[hillipson] for Mr. B[ristow] for Shoreham £1000.0.0"; see p. 521.

Neither my brother or me can pass the street without hearing something of this sort from them; sometimes, he has outlived his friends . . . now it is the turn of the Post Office to have power; at other times they cry out in my hearing as I pass, his Pelham is gone to the D——l, and he will soon follow him. . . .

And Mr. Coke's "chief servant" said that Harwich was "a pretty little town", and his master was going to have a house in it and be elected a capital burgess; which

convinces me that they design if possible to throw the borrough into the hands of Lord Leicester and Mr. Phillipson, who will be as ready as any two men in England to attempt to bully the Ministry out of it, and this I believe will be the case, except it be nip'd in the bud.

In short, as Davies put it in a letter dated August 29, 1754, he now saw his little bark drawn "into a sea of the mercyless waves of insolence and arbitrary power of Toryizm".[1]

When the campaign against Davies was at its height, John Roberts, on November 21, 1754, explained to Newcastle once more how Pelham had found Harwich "divided into many little parties, which had gone near to destroy the Government's interest there", and how, in order to put an end to "squabbles and jealousies", he had taken its management "into his own hands"; he concluded:

Mr. Pelham's regard to Mr. Philipson had made him determine to prefer him to any other representative that might offer himself for that borough; and he pas'd the same compliment to the Earl of Leicester, by introducing his son Lord Coke there, and afterwards Mr. Coke the present member. But, if it was determined to recommend his Lordship's near relation there, because he had an interest as Post-Master General, I can take upon me to say, that Mr. Pelham would never have consented to any step, which would have given Mr. Coke an interest in that borough hereafter, whenever Lord Leicester shall cease to be His Majesty's Post-Master General.

[1] Add. MSS. 32736, ff. 378-80. Of course, neither the Cokes, nor Phillipson, had any inclination whatsoever toward "Toryism"; but this was at that time the word with which to brand one's opponents.

Nor can I conceive with what other view it can be so much desired, but to extend his claim beyond that contingency; if I recollect right, the late Lord Coke was not a capital burgess there: nor would Mr. Coke have been (I verily beleive) if Mr. Pelham had lived. . . . I should likewise add that the King is not ignorant of the manner in which it [Harwich] has been conducted for several years past; and, if your Grace should think proper to know his pleasure thereupon, it will appear to be, that the same conduct (unless you should see cause to recommend a contrary one to His Majesty) should be complied with.[1]

Davies remained Collector of Customs at Harwich and continued, under Roberts, to manage the Government interest in the borough, whilst Roberts, as a devoted follower of Newcastle, began to wonder whether (for the Duke's sake) he himself should not acquire a proper foothold in the borough. Accordingly, on July 15, 1755, Davies addressed to him the following letter,[2] which he duly transmitted to Newcastle:[3]

I am very glad you have thought of fitting up a house for yourself [at Harwich]; I have been inclined to mention it, for some time past, as it will in some measure facilitate and take off some objections to an affair which I hope will happen on the next occasion [obviously Roberts's election to the Corporation]. The borough is now in as much danger to be lost to the Government, as it was at first, every method is used by fair and foul means to make a defection among the Ministers friends.

I look on John Turner as lost to the Duke, Mr. Phillipson having got him a 20 gun ship to build here. And he, Mr. Phillipson, has order'd Mr. Slade the builder at Deptford, not to suffer young Pulham to be promoted in the Yard, unless his father will ask it as a favour of Mr. Phillipson. The Post Office is also at work, they have brought 24 actions against the collectors of the Land Tax, and threaten ruin to all that oppose, some of our friends are frightened and others discouraged from acting with spirit, so that unless his Grace will encourage them a little, the borough will be stole out

[1] Add. MSS. 32737, ff. 369-72.

[2] Add. MSS. 32857, f. 121.

[3] In a letter of July 20, 1755; Add. MSS. 32857, f. 276.

of his hands. This situation makes it necessary for you to be one of our number, as all the arts they are masters of is used to take off my weight at this place. . . .

On August 5 Davies informed Roberts of the death of a capital burgess, expressing the hope that Roberts would succeed him ;[1] but in spite of earnest warnings given to Newcastle about the danger which otherwise threatened Harwich,[2] it was only on the next vacancy that Roberts and Davies had their way—" in consequence of your Grace's recommendation ", wrote Roberts to Newcastle on September 27, 1755, " I was yesterday elected a capital burgess of this Corporation, without any opposition ".[3]

John Phillipson died on November 27, 1756, and, as he left no son, the Phillipson interest lapsed at Harwich. The vacancy in Parliament was filled by Lord Duncannon—a very regular selection, as he was a brother-in-law of the Duke of Devonshire, at that time First Lord of the Treasury. But when, in July 1758, Duncannon succeeded to the peerage as Earl of Bessborough (Baron Ponsonby in England), a new chapter opened in Harwich candidatures.

John Roberts had for many years managed Government boroughs, Henry Pelham had entrusted him with the lease of important lands at Harwich, and now he was one of its capital burgesses. Surely it was time for him to claim a seat in Parliament,[4] best of all at Harwich. On July 14, 1758, Henry Pelham's widow, Lady Katherine, applied to

[1] Add. MSS. 32857, f. 592. About this time Treasury debts were cleared at Harwich, but, curiously enough, this was done through the Secretary to the Post Office ; in the secret service accounts the entry appears under August 20, 1755 : " Mr. Shelvoke for Harwich £300.0.0 " ; see p. 531.

[2] In a new " State of the Corporation of Harwich " ; Add. MSS. 32857, ff. 590-91.

[3] Add. MSS. 32859, f. 250.

[4] About John Roberts's antecedents see my note on " Three Eighteenth-Century Politicians " in the *English Historical Review* for July 1927. He was the son of a town-clerk of Chester.

Newcastle on his behalf: ". . . you can't take my doing it amiss; nor wonder that I wish him to fill up the vacancy. . . ".[1]

The same day, Roberts himself submitted to the Duke a scheme for re-arranging his sinecures, so as to render him eligible for Parliament:

> Mr. Roberts humbly entreats to be permitted to exchange his post of Deputy Paymaster of Gibraltar with Mr. Sloper, one of the Commissioners of the Board of Trade; and also to resign his office in the Customs to Mr. John Hughson.[2]
>
> These disqualifications being removed, if his Grace the Duke of Newcastle would be pleased to do Mr. Roberts the honour to bring him into Parliament, he would use his best endeavours to make himself useful to his Grace upon all occasions.[3]

This time an attempt was made by the Duke of Devonshire to influence Newcastle's choice of a successor to Bessborough,[4] possibly prompted by Lord Leicester with a view to foiling the ambitious plans of Roberts, who for years had countered his own views to the borough; and on July 16 Lord Leicester wrote to Newcastle from Chatsworth

> to receive your directions, who you would have our people vote for as Member of Parliament that I may send them your orders. If Duncannons being a Peer vacates his being on the floor at Harwich, I hope your Grace will send orders to Davis and Roberts to chuse Crow in his room . . . and by that you'll see whither those gentlemen will obey your orders with as little hesitation as I shall always do, but that I much doubt.[5]

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[1] Add. MSS. 32881, f. 319.

[2] John Hughson was a cousin of Roberts; see Add. MSS. 32895, f. 351, and 32946, ff. 349-50.

[3] Add. MSS. 32881, f. 320.

[4] See letter from Lord Bessborough to the Duke of Newcastle, July 16, 1758; *ibid.* f. 359.

[5] *Ibid.* f. 361. The place here demanded for Crow in succession to Lord Bessborough is, of course, not the seat in Parliament but in the Harwich Corporation; the peerage, however, did not vacate that place (see list of May 1763, table facing p. 461).

On October 15, 1758, Leicester again pressed for Crow to be chosen a capital burgess at Harwich :

> Your Grace may remember I told you that your orders on that affair would be slighted . . . you will . . . be convinced that all I have told you of the contrivances of Roberts to get that burrough into his own hands from the Governments is true. . . . I know they won't chuse Crow . . . they did exclude the people dependent on the Government to bring in independent or such as only depended on themselves. What I do is for the Governments service, I have no private views. . . . Roberts I know has apply'd to others, whither to your Grace I know not, to be chose for Harwich, you are the best judge whither he is a proper person . . . or if you please to give the burrough into private hands, would have you do it with your eyes open. . . .[1]

Thomas Sewell, a son-in-law of Thomas Heath, M.P. for Harwich, 1715–22, himself a distinguished barrister and a great favourite of the Dissenters, whose cases he fought in the law courts, was returned for Harwich on this vacancy.

But in 1759, in connexion with a by-election at Orford, Newcastle definitely promised Roberts to bring him into Parliament,[2] and in the list of new Members to be chosen at the general election of 1761, which was submitted to Newcastle by Roberts on December 14, 1760, his own name appears against Harwich.[3] George III had, however, some candidates of his own to provide for, and although his claim (which at one time Newcastle feared would prove very extensive) was raised on behalf of very few men, it included the nomination of Charles Townshend to Harwich. Newcastle now found himself between the upper and nether millstone, the King and Lady Katherine Pelham, and he hardly knew which of them was the more formidable.

[1] Add. MSS. 32884, ff. 382-3.

[2] Roberts wrote to Newcastle on December 7, 1759 : " Since your Grace is pleased to assure me of your kind intentions to bring me in to Parliament . . ." (Add. MSS. 32899, f. 366).

[3] Add. MSS. 32916, f. 65.

In answer to Lady Katherine's expostulations, Newcastle wrote on February 5, 1761 :

I had a long conference yesterday with my Lord Bute ; which, almost in every point, pass'd entirely to my satisfaction. The chief disagreable thing was this point of Mr. Roberts'. Lord Bute said that the King had promis'd to bring Mr. Charles Townshend into Harwich. I disputed it, combated it, and oppos'd it, as much as I could. I did not prevail ; but yet I don't despair, but I shall at last be able to get Mr. Roberts in at Harwich. . . .[1]

Meantime Roberts for the tenth time had to transmit to him " the state of the boroughs of Orford and Harwich ". Having described Orford as financed and directed by the Treasury alone, Roberts gave an account of Harwich,[2] rather different from that which he had given whilst he was not a claimant to its representation :

At Harwich the case is far from being the same [as at Orford] ; indeed the First Lord of the Treasury has likewise there the principal influence ; but the expence to the Crown has been very small ; and there has always been an independent interest, which was formerly in Mr. Philipson and since his death has been in other hands ; so that the Crown itself has not an equal claim for nomination there as in the borough of Orford ; yet still, whenever the First Lord of the Treasury thinks proper to acquaint them with his inclinations, he will hardly fail of due attention from the constituents, provided the Members proposed be not very disagreable to them.[3]

Newcastle accordingly noted down in his " Memorandums " on February 6 :

The state of the boroughs of Harwich [and] Orford.
Absolutely dependent on the Treasury.
Conducted by Mr. Roberts.

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[1] Add. MSS. 32918, ff. 279-80.

[2] *Ibid.* ff. 281-2.

[3] Presumably the " private interest " hinted at above but not named was now in Roberts's own hands, and he and his friends were the constituents to whom the Members proposed were not to be excessively disagreeable.

Mr. Roberts could chuse himself at Harwich.
The great stress my Lady Katherine and my Lord Lincoln lay upon it.[1]

Prodded by Roberts—" the constituents, most of them, have been consulted, and have actually promised to make me their representative "[2]—and, in vigorous terms, by Lady Katherine (who, besides a seat at Harwich, demanded for Roberts a place at the Board of Trade),[3] Newcastle was trying feverishly to find some other constituency for Charles Townshend—in the City of Westminster or in Pembroke Town—and having failed, finally accommodated both Townshend and Roberts at Harwich, transferring its sitting Members to other places.

The storm had passed, and when, on February 27, John Roberts had again to give " a particular account " of the borough, it was both cheerful and dutiful.[4]

At Harwich, there is a zealous disposition in the majority to serve the Duke of Newcastle, out of particular regard to his Grace, as well as on account of his being at the head of the Treasury.

As First Lord, he advances one hundred pounds yearly for some private benefactions; and the manager is out of pocket generally as much.

There is an independent interest always here, but this is well inclined at present; and the Duke of Newcastle has the nomination of both the Members.

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[1] Add. MSS. 32918, f. 311. Lord Lincoln was a nephew and son-in-law of Henry Pelham and heir to the Duke of Newcastle.

[2] John Roberts to the Duke of Newcastle, February 10, 1761; *ibid.* ff. 407-8.

[3] Lady Katherine Pelham to the Duke of Newcastle, February 12, 1761: " Mr. Roberts tells me that you have been so good (have been so good are Mr. Roberts words, and not mine I assure you) . . ." " . . . let me advise you to apply . . . immediately, least you should be disappointed in this, as you have been on other occasions by your delay. I am really sorry for the distress you are in . . . but you must give me leave to say, that you bring them chiefly on your self " (*ibid.* ff. 471-2).

[4] Add. MSS. 32919, f. 323.

On March 30, 1761, Charles Townshend and John Roberts were returned for Harwich without opposition, and in December, Roberts was made one of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations.

Roberts continued manager of Harwich,[1] but was not a favourite with Newcastle. His attachment was primarily to Lady Katherine and Lord Lincoln, and the relations between Lincoln and Newcastle were not satisfactory. On Newcastle's side there was sincere affection for Lincoln, mixed with suspicion and grievances (such as he harboured against everybody), and with annoyance at getting no help from that indolent hypochondriac. For Lincoln preferred to lead an easy life and mind his diseases, and was equally sick of Newcastle's cordiality, jealousy, claims, and promptings, and altogether bored with his uncle, for whom he had neither love nor loyalty. But for the crises which periodically occurred in the family, Newcastle chose to blame Roberts, accusing him of intriguing between them; ". . . in what an odious light your Grace has view'd and represented me for above a twelvemonth past", complained Roberts on February 22, 1762.

> I think I never said or did what might tend in any degree to widen the breach. . . . My interest, if I had ever looked for any, must depend upon the union and harmony of those, from whom alone I ever sought, or can hope for protection and patronage; . . . but I have attached myself to your Grace and all your family from inclination more than from self-interested views. . . .[2]

On May 26, 1762, the Duke of Newcastle resigned the Treasury, but desired his followers to retain office, a wish with which Lord Lincoln and his friends readily complied.

[1] See, *e.g.*, his letter to Newcastle, September 26, 1761, concerning a vacancy among the capital burgesses at Harwich: "There is no person who has any post under the Government in that town, proper to be elected upon this vacancy." He suggests therefore a local fisherman who "promises strongly to support the Government interest". (Add. MSS. 32928, f. 375.)

[2] Add. MSS. 32935, ff. 14-16.

Still, when Newcastle, in August 1762, had refused to resume office under Bute, and Henry Fox had been called in to manage the House of Commons, when the Duke of Devonshire had been dismissed and Newcastle had started urging his "considerable friends" to resign office, Lincoln had to go, though very much against his own wish and choice (in secret, he complained to the King of his uncle, who meantime informed all the world that Lincoln behaved "like an angel"[1]). Roberts had to follow Lincoln—"Roberts's resignation", wrote George III to Lord Bute, "I look on as certain, Lord Lincoln having set him the example".[2] When in December the proscription was started of Newcastle's friends in minor offices—whom Bute and Fox quite reasonably refused to support for Newcastle and the Opposition—Roberts, too, was deprived of the sinecure of "Inspector of the Accounts of the Collectors of the Out-Ports" (worth about £400 p.a.), which was held in trust for him by his cousin, John Hughson.[3] He became a martyr "in cotton-wool", who secretly fawned on his presumed executioners. "Roberts's letter is very handsome," wrote George III to Bute. "I know him to be an honest and honourable man, but feel the situation of things made it necessary to make his vacancy, otherwise he never was a creature of the Duke of Newcastle, on the contrary that Duke never would have any connection with him".[4] But when invited to Claremont, in

[1] *E.g.* in a letter to Lord Granby, November 5, 1762; Add. MSS. 32944, f. 275. The same phrase occurs in several other letters.

[2] Bute MSS. The letter is undated except for the hour "45$^{m.}$ pt. 10", but obviously was written about the middle of November.

[3] See in the Liverpool Papers the "List of several Persons holding Offices in the Customs by Patent during Pleasure", December 18, 1762; Add. MSS. 38334, ff. 211-12.

[4] Bute MSS. The letter is marked merely "11 o'clock", but the sentence—"Shall I declare the Suffolk and Derbyshire Lieutenancies also vacant to-day?"—shows that it must have been written about December 23, 1762.

recognition of his faithful sufferings, Roberts assured Newcastle how much he enjoyed "having acted honorably and honestly". "We are both [Roberts and his friend Mellish] consoled for our disgraces, or rather repent not of our incurring a resentment, which proves how much we are attached to you".[1]

But on February 5, 1763, Roberts had to write to Newcastle on a more embarrassing subject:

> I entreated Lord Lincoln to acquaint your Grace, that I had been with Lord Bute on Friday last, by his order; the subject was principally the borough of Orford. In the conversation I introduced some particular circumstances relating to myself, which he heard patiently enough, but said little; except general expressions of the honourable manner, in which he was pleased to say, I had behaved with relation to Harwich and Orford, and a declaration that he would do me the justice to represent them in an higher place. I can relate viva voce, much better than write the whole of what passed, when I shall have the honour next to see your Grace.[2]

This drew a very angry reply from Newcastle, who had hoped, though in opposition, to retain the borough influence he had gained as First Lord of the Treasury:

> I have, this moment, received your letter, which, I own, has extremely surprized me; I never heard one word of it from my Lord Lincoln; he would not own to me having given any such advice; and I did not imagine, that any advice, or consideration, could have carried you to my Lord Bute, after the injuries, and indignities, which his Lordship has put upon *me*, all *my brother's friends*, and indeed personally *upon yourself*. He had a great mind, to turn you out of Harwich, this Parliament, if I would have permitted it; and I cannot think, any friend of mine, after this treatment, in any ways obliged to fling Orford or Harwich into his Lordship's hands.[3]

Roberts replied on February 7:

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[1] John Roberts to the Duke of Newcastle, January 27, 1763; Add. MSS. 32946, f. 224.

[2] *Ibid.* f. 319.

[3] February 6, 1763; *ibid.* f. 333.

A letter, in the stile of that, which I had the honour to receive from your Grace this morning, I must confess I little thought of receiving from your Grace, at this time. It cannot but be matter of surprize to me, that, after having stood with firmness the late fiery tryal, I should be now suspected of having taken any step that derogates from the attachment I have long professed, and so invariably shewn to you. In the present instance your Grace expresses your displeasure before you are acquainted with the facts.

Mr. Rigby[1] (whom your Grace formerly permitted to interfere rudely with me in the corporation of Harwich) had, it seems, obtained from Lord Bute a sort of promise that he should by degrees get footing in that borough. Mr. Davies the Collector was on the point of being dismissed, and one Mr. Lucas, brother in law to Mr. Calcraft,[2] who has now another place, was to succeed him. All those in the Customs, who should adhere to me, were to be turned out. Intelligence of these intentions reaching Mr. Davies, he came up to London, and by the assistance of Lord Egmont,[3] Lord Harcourt, Mr. Schreider, and others, was just in time to save himself. Could I perswade a poor man to do otherwise, who must have starved, with his wife, and five children, if I had insisted upon his sharing my fate ?[4]

Having further described the position at Orford, he concluded :

The interests are actually in the First Lord of the Treasury, and, if I had been so enclined (which in honour I ought not be), I could not, as those boroughs are now constituted, have made any material opposition in them ; so that your Grace, upon a cooller reflection, will not charge me with having flung them into the hands of Lord

[1] M.P. for Tavistock and political manager of the Bedford group ; at this time a close personal friend of Henry Fox. He owned Mistley Hall, near Harwich.

[2] John Calcraft, the regimental agent and right-hand man of Henry Fox. Anthony Lucas, of Ancaster, Lincs., married Calcraft's sister, Christian (see Maddison, *Lincolnshire Pedigrees*).

[3] Lord Egmont's father, John Perceval, first Earl of Egmont, and his maternal grandfather, Sir Philip Parker, second Bart., had both sat for Harwich, which may explain his connexion with the borough. Moreover, the first Earl of Egmont had been Recorder of Harwich.

[4] Add. MSS. 32946, ff. 349-50.

Bute, but do me the justice to allow, that they were there, in spite of me.[1]

No reply to this letter appears in the Newcastle Papers, but soon correspondence on other subjects passed between them, and when Newcastle returned to power, in the Rockingham Administration of 1765, John Roberts was restored to his seat at the Board of Trade and to his lost sinecures (some, *e.g.* that of Receiver of the Quit-Rents of Virginia, had remained to him throughout, being for life, as was also his pension of £800 p.a. on the Irish Establishment).

At Harwich itself no changes were made in 1762–63, though they had been originally intended by Fox and his friends; Roberts's statement to this effect is confirmed by a letter to Lord Bute from George III, who never ceased to loathe and distrust Henry Fox (feelings which, whatever their objective justification, had their origin in conflicts between Leicester House and the Duke of Cumberland):

> Lord Egmont's intelligence from Harwich is a small example of the many harsh things Mr. Fox will attempt to drive my Dear Friend into; but his sense and good heart will make him see what steps are necessary to ruin the Newcastle faction, and those that would be only ruining individuals who are not attached to that party; this ought to serve as a lesson that no man should be dismissed unless others besides the Foxes declare them to be of that denomination.[2]

Davies made his submission to Bute and continued it to George Grenville; and beginning with May 1763,

[1] Add. MSS. 32946, ff. 349-50.

[2] Bute MSS.; the letter is merely marked "5$^{m.}$ pt. 11", but can be placed about February 1, 1763.

See also, in the Liverpool Papers, "Supplemental List of Custom-house Offices with Observations" (December 18, 1762), obviously drawn up with a view to dismissals:

"Davis. Collector of Harwich. Worth near 300£ a year. Mayor of D^{o}—employed by Mr. Roberts to manage the borough." (Add. MSS. 38334, f. 216.)

THE PRESENT STATE OF THE BOROUGH OF HARWICH IN THE COUNTY OF ESSEX, WITH THE NAMES, STATIONS, AND CONNEXIONS OF THE PERSONS THAT COMPOSE THE CORPORATION

No.	Names.	Em ploiments, Stations, or Business.	Connexions, &c[a].
1	Griffith Davies, Alderm[n] & Mayor	Collector of the Customs	He is determined to support the interest of his Majesty, and his Ministry against all opponents whatsoever.
2	Henry Stevens, Alderman .	He lives on his fortune	He has acted zealously with N° (1) for several years.
3	James Clement, D° .	Agent of the Pacquet's	I presume he will obey the Postmaster Gen[ls]. directions.
4	Maddeson Hunt, D° .	Cap[t] of a Pacq[t] Boat	A great friend to N° (30), who put Hunt into this employment.
5	Samuel Cockerell, D°	Ditto	I presume he will obey his masters.
6	John Turner, D° .	Ship Wright	He has not yet opposed the Governm[ts] interest, but is not active for it.
7	Thomas Heard, D° .	Cap[t] of a Pacq[t] Boat	His wife is niece to N° (3).
8	John Gibson, D° .	Surgeon and Apothecary	I am not yet inform'd of his political sentiments; but suspect him.
	Capital Burgesses.		
9	Francis Pulham . .	Land Waiter	Father to N° (17). — Very zealous for the Governments interest.
10	James Cole . . .	Deputy Comptroller	
11	Joseph Orlibar . . .	Land Surveyor	
12	Daniel Davies . . .	Tide Surveyor	Brother to N° (1) — Very zealous for the Governments interest.
13	John Matthews . . .	Inspector	Very zealous for the Governments interest.
14	Isaac Dagnett . . .	Command[r] of the Sloop	Very zealous for the Governments interest.
15	John Hiblett . . .	Mate of the Sloop	Brother in Law to N° (20) — Very zealous for the Governments interest.
16	Stephen Deane . . .	Tides Man	Brother to N° (25) — Very zealous for the Governments interest.
17	James Pulham . . .	Sitter in the Boat in Handflaet Waters	Son to N° (9) — Very zealous for the Governments interest.
18	Phillips Baggott. . .	Cap[t] of a Pacquet	He was put into his office by N° (30) is a wellwisher to him, but I fancy will obey his masters.
19	John Roberts . . .	Member of Parliam[t]	He desired me to assure the Earl of Bute he would concur in supporting the Crowns interest here, and did the same himself to his Lordship since.
20	Andrew Smith . . .	Formerly a Boat builder, but now lives on his fortune	Brother in Law to N° (15). — Zealous Friends to the King's Government.
21	William Deane . . .	House Carpenter	Nephew to the wife of N° (23) — Zealous Friends to the King's Government.
22	Thomas Hallsted . .	Inn Keeper	Brother to N° (32) — Zealous Friends to the King's Government.
23	Nathaniel Saunders . .	Master Fisherman	Uncle in Law to N° (21) — Zealous Friends to the King's Government.
24	Thomas Shearman . .	Ditto	Zealous Friends to the King's Government.
25	John Deane . . .	Ditto	Brother to N° (16) — Zealous Friends to the King's Government.
26	Josias Baker . . .	A Farmer	Zealous Friends to the King's Government.
27	John Hughson . . .	A Clerk in the Exchequ[r]	Cozen to N° (19) I have reason to believe him a sure friend, for the Crowns interest.
28	Earl of Besborough . .		
29	Wenman Coke . . .		
30	Carteret Leathes . .	Has a considerable estate	He has for many years been trying to take this Borough from the Crown, and once had it, viz[t] from year 1734 to the year 1742. He will not have it again while I live.
31	Henry Pelham . . .	Secretary to the Victualling Office	A zealous friend to his Majesty's Government.
32	William Hallsted . .	Inn Keeper	An hearty friend to the Government.

[*Facing page* 461.

his official correspondence concerning the Government interest at Harwich was with Charles Jenkinson, at that time Secretary to the Treasury. A period of frequent ministerial changes had come after the long years of the Walpole-Pelham régime, and the Treasury as such was gaining ground on individual Ministers and displacing their private agents.

In May 1763, presumably at Jenkinson's request, Davies rendered to him a detailed account of the state of Harwich, which is reproduced on the opposite page. This list of the Harwich electorate reminds one somehow of a theatrical programme ; here are the persons of the play, and added to them a few "citizens" to represent the people. The central figure is Griffith Davies, "determined to support the interest of his Majesty and his Ministry against all opponents whatsoever" ; lower down, (No. 19) appears John Roberts, M.P., who had given proper assurances that "he would concur in supporting the Crowns interest here" ; and his cousin and puppet, John Hughson (No. 27). The Parliamentary past of Harwich is represented by Nos. 28-30, Lord Bessborough, Wenman Coke, and Carteret Leathes, late Members for the borough, still retaining their places "on the floor" of the Corporation ; and by No. 31, Henry Pelham, a cousin of the Ministers, put in in the days of their greatness. Then there are the two antagonistic groups of dependants of the Post Office and the Treasury ; the agent of the Packets (No. 3) and their four captains (Nos. 4, 5, 7, and 18), and nine men connected with the Custom House, who, under various designations, were supposed to watch the land and the sea, the waters and the tides (Nos. 9-17). Nos. 2 and 20, men living on their "fortunes" (and on Treasury pensions), No. 6, a shipwright (for whom Phillipson had got "a 20-gun ship to build here"), and No. 8, the local "surgeon and apothecary", must be added to the list of notables in the Corporation. The play-bill is completed

by two innkeepers, at whose houses civic celebrations and election entertainments were presumably held, a house carpenter, a farmer, and three master fishermen.

Of the thirty-two mentioned in the list, seventeen were in minor Government offices. Of those not in Government posts, some were relatives of officials, whilst two or three were on the waiting list, comforted in the meantime by pensions out of the £100 which was the direct yearly contribution paid by the Treasury in support of the Government interest at Harwich; and they were "in great distress" if any serious delay occurred in payments, as was usually the case.[1] In this respect ministerial changes had no material effect on relations between Harwich and the Treasury. The first letter from Davies to Jenkinson, on May 7, 1763, enclosed a receipt for £50, the half-yearly payment to the borough;[2] and the next instalment was late as usual: "As Michaelmas is now past, be so good, as to send me £50 to give the three persons whom you know, as usual".[3]

[1] See papers submitted by Roberts to the Duke of Newcastle, July 17, 1758; for ten years past £60 a year had been paid to Mr. Phillips, and £40 to Mr. Richman, who had nothing for the last five quarters and were "in great distress on that account"; Add. MSS. 32881, ff. 371-3. On January 7, 1764, Griffith Davies, on the death of his brother Daniel, who had been Tide Surveyor in the port of Harwich, suggested to Jenkinson that Andrew Smith, "the oldest burgess unprovided for", should succeed him. "You know he has now £35 per annum, and in case he be appointed, that money may be given either to one or two others, which will strengthen the Government's interest greatly" (Add. MSS. 38202, f. 10). Andrew Smith was appointed, and on his death in May 1765, "Mr. John Deane, the oldest capital burgess unprovided for", was recommended in his place. "You know he has now £35 per annum, and if he has this office, that sum may be given to one other of the capital burgesses farther to secure the Government's interest." (Griffith Davies to Charles Jenkinson, June 1, 1765; Add. MSS. 38204, f. 258.)

[2] Add. MSS. 38200, f. 329.

[3] Griffith Davies to Charles Jenkinson, October 8, 1763; Add. MSS. 38201, f. 170. The three recipients of pensions at Harwich were at that time Andrew Smith, £35; John Deane, £35; and Henry Stevens, £30 p.a.; see Add. MSS. 38202, f. 10, and 38477, ff. 35-6.

In London, political alliances and rivalries were no longer a subject for a picture—a cinema film would have been required ; but at Harwich the battle between Griffith Davies, of the Customs, and Hines, of the Post Office, continued as of old. When in 1764 it was proposed that George Grenville should become Recorder of Harwich [1] with Mr. Rant, a barrister,[2] for deputy, Davies pressed for a decision—

> as we have several traverses to try that I am not well acquainted with, vizt. two for sodomitical practices, and two for threatening letters to extort money, besides ordinary business : and what makes it more necessary to have a lawyer of the court is, that Hines the Deputy Post-Master, and the fishermen, have contributed money to pay counsell to appear in behalf of some of the delinquents. . . .
>
> This fellow Hines gives more trouble to the friends of the Government, than all the rest of the malcontents in the town.[3]

The correspondence between Davies and Jenkinson during the two years of the Grenville Administration (1763–65) deals with Harwich affairs even in greater detail than Roberts's letters to Newcastle ; for, however passionately fond the Duke was of doing the work of subordinate officials, they too had their jealousies, and Roberts did not allow every detail of Harwich patronage

[1] See correspondence between Davies and Jenkinson, October-December 1764, *passim* ; Davies's letters are in Add. MSS. 38203 ; Jenkinson's replies in his letter-book, Add. MSS. 38304.

[2] Sir Richard Lloyd, who died in 1764, had been Recorder of Harwich, Orford, and Ipswich ; in all three boroughs he was, in time, succeeded by Humphrey Rant (see " Collections for the History of Ipswich ", by W. Batley ; Add. MSS. 25335, f. 65), who as Recorder played a considerable part in their politics. The history of such Recorders running groups of neighbouring boroughs would deserve closer investigation. Rant was a Norfolk man, educated at Caius, Cambridge, and the Middle Temple ; he died in 1779, at the age of seventy.

[3] Griffith Davies to Charles Jenkinson, December 15, 1764 ; Add. MSS. 38203, ff. 305-6.

to reach the First Lord of the Treasury. Still, in this mass of correspondence two cases only seem to deserve special mention : one, of a mild revolt among the Harwich dependants of the Treasury, who, seeing its ascendancy in the central Government, wished to share in victory and spoils ; the other, of endeavours among the rank and file of Harwich burgesses to create family groups in the Corporation, such as the great political families formed in the House of Commons. Each age has its peculiar terms in which it transacts political business : the eighteenth century stood in the sign of the Family Compact, and Harwich too had its Bourbons.

The story of the revolt is told in a letter from Davies to Jenkinson, on July 7, 1764 :

> . . . for the people whom I was to pay the £50,[1] but it happened none of them were at home ; after the return of Mr. Stevens from a journey, and Mr. John Deane from Norway, I paid them their stipends ; but observed an unusual coolness and shyness in their behaviour, as well as in the rest of our friends, which I could not account for, and for the present did not care to ask the reason of.
>
> Mr. Nath[l.] Saunders, whom I thought the properest to recommend to you, to have the £35 pr. an. instead of Mr. Smith, being then in Norway, at his return I sent for him and told him that as he had been a steady friend to the Government, I believed I could get him a small stipend of £35, if he would accept of it. He thank'd me, but said that, although he had a large family, he could make a shift to maintain them without such a triffle . . . that the other friends of the Government . . . as well as himself, thought it a very aggravating mortification to see Phillip Baggott *a boy and no voter*, made a Captain of a Pacquet over their heads, some of whom were qualified for it, and were voters here, for the Government interest, before he (Baggott) was born ; and what still more mortifies them is, that this young fellow is no seaman, and consequently not qualified for the lucrative employment he undeservedly enjoys, having never been at sea, but by going now, and then, a voyage

[1] The top and bottom of the paper have rotted away, and the extant text starts as above.

with his father, nearly like a passenger. . . . That it was another provoking circumstance, that this man, who had always opposed the Treasury interest, during the life of Lord Leicester, who many years endeavoured to steal this borough from the Crown, to make it a family borough ; should now have interest enough to perpetuate an employment of £1500 p. annum, in war time, and above £1000 in peaceable times, in his family, to the prejudice of those voters that have always been zealous in supporting the interest of the Crown here. . . .

I . . . assured them that I was . . . far from assisting or even being privy to any part of this business. . . . They clamoured pretty loudly, and said they had but small encouragement to be zealous in supporting the Government's interest . . . when the Pacquet Boats which are as good as a Vice-Admiral's place, are given to those who have opposed it . . . and all they had to expect . . . after many years zeal for the Crown's interest, was some little Custom-house place which was scarcely bread ; when one of the Captains of the Pacquets income annually, was more than that of all the officers of the Customs, in the whole port, put together. That those Captains put in by Lord Leicester, to assist him in opposing the Treasury have acquired large estates ; that Capt. Cockerill has been Capt. about twenty years, has raised a fortune of £30,000 besides bringing up his family. Capt. Hunt have been in about fourteen years, and have rais'd about £18,000. Capt. Hearn in five years has raised about £6000. . . .

That as Lord Leicester did in his time oblige these Captains to pay certain sums to other voters to keep up an interest to oppose the Treasury ; they should be glad to know if it would not be full as just for them, now, to pay something out of their great profits, to support the interest of the Crown under the direction of the Treasury. That these Captains could very well afford £200 per annum each, but if they were to pay £100 each, it would be better than nothing ; to be distributed as Mr. Grenville should direct, by a person by him appointed.[1]

Jenkinson replied on July 27 :

You may very safely assure the gentlemen of Harwich, that neither I, nor even Mr. Grenville, knew anything of the appointment of young Baggot, so that if 'tis a disobligation to them, we

[1] Add. MSS. 38203, f. 23.

at least have no concern in it. . . . I hope that when you have sufficiently explained it to your friends, they will become again satisfied, and I am sure that if at any time, it is proper for Mr. Grenville to interfere in their favor, he will readily give them his assistance. . . .

. . . As to the other proposition you make, it is of a nature which Mr. Grenville has always disapproved of, and never practises, even with respect to offices that are immediately under himself; he cannot think therefore of proposing this practice to others, and I know that what Lord Leicester did of this kind, tho' at the time it might answer his purposes, met with general disapprobation. . . .[1]

The question of family groups in the Corporation arose in May 1765, when Charles Townshend, on becoming Paymaster General, had to seek re-election: " . . . we cannot go to election for Member of Parliament untill the Corporation is filled up ", wrote Davies on May 27th, asking for instructions concerning the choice of two capital burgesses.[2] " . . . It is left to your discretion to do it with such persons as you and the Corporation shall approve of ", wrote Jenkinson on May 28.[3] But meantime Davies put forward the following request:

. . . in your answer, I beg you will add words to this effect. Vizt. " *that Mr. Grenville desires that I will take care that not above two of one family, may be elected into the Corporation* ". My Lord Egmont in the year 1734 had very disagreable experience of the want of this caution, as he then lost his election, by a defection of four in one family.

The reason of the necessity of this caution at present is, that there are no less than three familys, that have each of them already two in the Corporation, and are now pressing for a third. . . .[4]

Jenkinson willingly complied.

" I am directed now by Mr. Grenville to give you one caution,

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[1] Add. MSS. 38304, ff. 37-8.

[2] Add. MSS. 38458, f. 64.

[3] Add. MSS. 38305, f. 5.

[4] Griffith Davies to Charles Jenkinson, May 28, 1765; Add. MSS. 38458, f. 66.

which is, that for the future not above two of any one family be elected into the Corporation." [1]

But, whilst anxious to check the rise of other family interests in the Corporation, Davies, as every manager of every Government borough, seems to have been at work to build up his own position, independent of the Government and his office. He was spending money of his own on the borough, of course "for His Majesty's service". In one of the many letters asking for a Government post for his son, he wrote to Charles Jenkinson: [2]

I doubt not bu[t you] will wonder when I tell you that every shilling that I s[aved . . .] good husbandry, from my office, I have spent in supporti[ng the] Government's interest at this place; and therefore am [. . .] nothing but what fell to me by my relations, and what I recei[ved . . .] my wife. . . . Mr. Pelham in his lifetime was [. . .] of the expence I was continually at, and did intend to give [me] something in addition to reimburse me, but his death [. . .] by all my hopes; for the Duke of Newcastle who succ[eeded] him, I believe hated me, as he took every oppertu[nity] to browbeat me; and for no other reason that I ever [. . .] learn, but because he knew his brother had a friends[hip for] me; and I learn't from my good Lord Harcourt th[at my] case was not singular.

Were Davies's endeavours and expenditure at Harwich altogether disinterested? Jenkinson wrote to him on June 11, 1765:

. . . I cannot help mentioning to you that we have received complaints here that the two persons you recommended to fill up the Corporation have no offices under Government and consequently not bound to it by that obligation, while others who have offices

[1] May 29, 1765; Add. MSS. 38305, f. 5.

[2] February 2, 1764; Add. MSS. 38202, f. 75. The blanks in the text marked by square brackets are caused by the edges of the paper having rotted away. Davies seems to have played the benefactor even to the town as such; see, *e.g.*, Morant, *Essex* (1768), vol. i. p. 500, for a description of the sea-front at Harwich, where "Griffith Davies, Esq., hath made two very convenient baths; one cold, and the other hot".

and were in other respects very proper persons, were neglected: as Government trusts wholly to you in this affair I cannot help earnestly desiring that in your future recommendations you would name such as are held to Government by the strongest ties and not to let any private disagreements among yourselves too far interfere so as to prevent your availing yourself of the assistance of those who are in the service of Government and well disposed to it, and Mr. Grenville recommends to you in particular that Mr. Charles Lloyd his private secretary may be elected one of your number the first opportunity that offers. I wish also to receive from you a state of the borough as it now stands setting against each mans name the office he holds.[1]

Charles Lloyd was obviously to have been Grenville's Roberts; he was already a capital burgess at Orford,[2] and had Grenville continued in office much longer, would undoubtedly have been brought in for a Treasury borough. But the Rockingham Administration was in sight; and on July 16, 1765, Davies wrote to Jenkinson, "greatly amazed at the very sudden changes especially at the Treasury, which I all along flatter'd my self could not, or would not happen".[3] He concluded: " . . . I am now set a drift again in a turbulent sea"—but he did not add this time "of insolence and arbitrary power of Toryizm. . . ."

The further story of Harwich and Griffith Davies does not appear in the collections of manuscripts on which the above account is based. But obviously his little boat safely reached port once more—Roberts had been in with him in the original transaction with Bute. Roberts, as a "sufferer", was reinstated in 1765 by Rockingham and Newcastle at the Board of Trade, and continued to cultivate his own interest at Harwich,[4] undoubtedly through his old

[1] Add. MSS. 38305, f. 8.

[2] See "The Corporation of Orford", September 19, 1764, p. 478.

[3] Add. MSS. 38204, f. 310.

[4] See letter from John Roberts to the Duke of Newcastle, August 12, 1766 (misdated by Roberts into October—see docket), complaining of the appointment of Mr. Bosom of Hastings to a Harwich packet

associate. A year later the " King's friends " were returning to office, and Davies continued in charge of Harwich.[1] In his old age he was assisted by his son,[2] who bore the appropriate Treasury name of Henry Pelham Davies, and who on his father's death in 1778 succeeded to his office and functions.[3] H. P. Davies died in 1782, at the age of only thirty-eight;[4] but for this untimely death, he or a son of his might some day have entered the House of Commons as Member for Harwich, and a descendant, no doubt, the House of Lords.

Harwich meantime continued a Parliamentary stronghold of the Treasury, receiving, besides other benefits, its regular £100 a year;[5] on the death of Charles Townshend,

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boat, which enraged " the greater part of the corporation " against Roberts (Add. MSS. 32977, f. 242). Further, Newcastle's reply of August 21, 1766; Add. MSS. 32976, f. 443.

[1] He was undoubtedly treated as the first man in the town, and presumably lived in a good house and in comfortable circumstances. When on October 2, 1766, George III's sister, who married Christian VII, King of Denmark, set out for Rotterdam by way of Harwich, " Her Majesty rested the night at Mr. Davis's the Collector of Customs " (see " A Short Journal, &c.", in Sir John Fortescue's *Correspondence of King George III*, vol. i. p. 404). In his last will, proved on October 13, 1778, and preserved at Somerset House, Griffith Davies gives to his son " my books, my mathematical and optical instruments, my swords, guns, pistols, and the watch with the seal of the arms of my family."

[2] See letter from H. P. Davies to C. Jenkinson, August 7, 1772; Add. MSS. 38458, f. 89.

[3] In the *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. lii. p. 94, Henry Pelham Davies is described as " Collector of Customs at Harwich "; and there is a letter in the Rainsford Papers, dated July 4, 1781 (Add. MSS. 23654, f. 56), signed by him as such.

[4] See Thomas Wright, *Essex* (1835), vol. ii. p. 818, for monumental inscription in St. Nicholas Church at Harwich.

[5] The secret service accounts of John Robinson, Secretary to the Treasury, for the period January 1779 till March 1782 are preserved in the British Museum, Add. MSS. 37836. In these Harwich still appears with its £100 a year. Also, in the " Accounts of payments made by Lord North submitted to His Majesty for his orders, which of them he will be pleased to have continued and delivered over "

in 1767, Thomas Bradshaw, Secretary to the Treasury, was returned for Harwich ; in 1772, on the death of John Roberts (who was left in possession of his seat at the general election of 1768), Charles Jenkinson, at that time one of the Lords of the Treasury ; John Robinson, Secretary to the Treasury, sat for Harwich from 1774 till his death in 1802, with G. A. North, the eldest son of Lord North, First Lord of the Treasury, for colleague, 1778–84 ; etc. The Crewe Act of 1782 for a moment seemed to endanger the Treasury influence—John Robinson, in his notes of December 1783, wrote against Harwich : " By the disfranchisement of the revenue officers rendered hazardous, but probably Mr. R[obinson] and another friend of government may be elected ".[1] His expectations were fulfilled, and soon, by roundabout ways, things returned to their normal condition, and Harwich continued to provide Treasury officials with seats in Parliament. " It would be a great saving to the country ", wrote Oldfield in 1820, in connexion with Harwich, " if the clerks of the Treasury were authorised to perform the ceremonies necessary at these elections, instead of pensioning so many corporations, at such a distance from London, to act the farce of choosing members of parliament ".[2] Inherited historic forms are seldom cheap or simple, but either have some valid justification, or are doomed—as the Corporation of Harwich was in 1820, but not in 1760.

(*ibid.* ff. 137-9), drawn up on the fall of the North Government in 1782, there occurs the entry : " Harwich—yearly towards expenses of the Corporation at Lady Day, £100." Besides, in the expenditure on the general election of 1780, £350 are booked against Harwich (£100 under September 6 and £250 under October 26, 1779) ; see W. T. Laprade, *Parliamentary Papers of John Robinson*, pp. 57-8.

[1] W. T. Laprade, *op. cit.* p. 73.

[2] *Key to the House of Commons*, p. 146.

Orford

Orford was a corporation borough on which the Crown managed to gain a hold perhaps more complete than it had on any other place, only to make a present of it, in 1766, to a nobleman who for the preceding ten or twelve years had unsuccessfully urged a claim to it—a measure so extraordinary as to evoke amazement and criticism at the time. Incidentally the case of Orford helps to disprove the anyhow untenable story that George II took no interest in boroughs and elections, and shows George III, in the early years of his reign, less intent on them than his grandfather.

Of Orford, as of so many other boroughs, Oldfield gives an excessively simplified account, and he omits what is perhaps the most interesting chapter in its history. Having stated that it had been bought by the Earl of Hertford from the executors of Price Devereux, Viscount Hereford, he thus describes its constitution :

> The right of election in this nominal borough is vested in the corporation, consisting of a mayor, who is the returning officer, recorder, eight portmen, and twelve capital burgesses ; but this number, we understand, is never complete, and mostly composed of non-residents, who are the brothers and relations of the proprietor. The constituent and representative body being generally made up of this nobleman's family, the usual mode of canvassing is dispensed with. . . .[1]

Lord Hertford himself, in a letter to Newcastle, on August 1, 1758, claimed that he had bought " the late Lord Hereford's estate " with a view to the borough ; that he was encouraged therein by Henry Pelham and Newcastle, and paid a price which would otherwise have been excessive ; that at that time he asked Pelham for his brother to have " the preference given him of being returned for Orford " ; but Mr. Pelham's " answer to me was that he

[1] *Key to the House of Commons* (1820), p. 158.

was for the present so farr engaged to Mr. Offley [that] he could not, but desired me not to be discouraged from thence, for that he would use his endeavors to throw the borough into my hands . . . ".[1]

As votes at Orford were not attached to particular holdings or houses, the influence which the estate gave its owner in the borough was probably due to some voters being his tenants, and others local tradesmen, labourers, etc., on whom he could exert pressure, both directly and through his tenants.[2] Possibly with a view to countering this territorial influence, the Treasury started packing the corporation with outsiders, which could not have been pleasing to the Orford citizens, and which had to be accompanied by at least a formal denization of these strangers—members of the corporation had apparently to be ratepayers, and therefore householders, in the borough.

Here, as at Harwich, Roberts acted as manager for the Pelhams. On September 18, 1757, having received Newcastle's directions concerning the choice of an outsider as a capital burgess, he remarked :

> We want upon this occasion a person, who will be ready upon all our elections, either of Mayors or Members of Parliament to go down upon a short warning, and transact such business, not only to the satisfaction of the gentlemen concerned but also of the

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[1] Add. MSS. 32882, ff. 190-91. No date is given of the purchase of the estate, but the election mentioned above is that of 1754, when Offley was first put up for the borough.

[2] A letter from Lord Hertford to George III, dated August 31, 1778 (*The Correspondence of King George III*, ed. by Sir John Fortescue, vol. iv. pp. 190-2), gives an interesting account of Orford and of his own position with regard to it : " . . . the town of Orford is so near and so much connected with me in all respects that it is in a manner my own house. . . ." "The town, small as it is, is composed of houses belonging to very poor laborers, or to the burgesses of the place who occasionally reside in them and they belong almost entirely to me."

inhabitants of the place, who are not managed without a great deal of attention and difficulty.[1]

On another vacancy, in July 1758, he pressed Newcastle for an immediate decision whom to nominate, as otherwise " we shall be reduced to the necessity of chusing a townsman, the number of which it would be better not to encrease ".[2] As for Lord Hertford's claim to the borough, Roberts, a typical official, naturally disliked the idea of power passing out of Government hands (unless into his own), and explained that such a transfer would hardly work as Lord Hertford imagined :

> As to the borough in general, I can scarce think Lord Hertford knows the complex state of it : if he did, he would see many difficulties and discouragements in his way at present ; besides no inconsiderable annual expence (which probably his Lordship has not been acquainted with) independent of the great trouble and charge, which many gentlemen undergo for the sake of the Government chearfully, but which they might not chuse to continue for the service of a particular person.

Lord Hertford, with equally tender concern for other people's convenience, argued that Mr. Pelham had obviously thought such a transfer advantageous to the Government— " . . . if he had not thought it agreable to the interest of the Crown he would not in any shape have thought of recommending it to the King ". His view presumably arose " from the expence it annually puts the Crown to and the greater it might have been attended with if this estate had fallen into the hands of an enemy ". Hertford concluded : " . . . if upon a view of the borough you shall think it right to interest yourself in it and to obtain an

[1] Add. MSS. 32874, ff. 134-5.

[2] July 17, 1758 ; Add. MSS. 32881, ff. 369-70. This seems to indicate that, at that time at least, capital burgesses had to be elected whenever a vacancy occurred, and the Corporation could not be left incomplete, as Oldfield understood it to have been about 1820.

influence for me at Orford, I shall esteem the obligation great . . . ".[1]

Newcastle replied on August 11, 1758 :

. . . I had obey'd your Lordship's orders in speaking to the King before I receiv'd your letter. I laid before His Majesty the state of the borough of Orford, and your Lordship's request relating to it. The King . . . made no sort of objection to your Lordship's having it, if anybody had it but himself ; but His Majesty said, as I told your Lordship I was apprehensive he would, that he could not part with *his boroughs* to anybody.

None the less, the rumour of an intended transfer to Lord Hertford did not die down, and when on a vacancy, in December 1759, Newcastle had Colonel Fitzroy, a brother of the third Duke of Grafton, and nephew of Lady Hertford, returned for the borough, Roberts wrote to him on December 24 :

I ought not to conceal from your Grace, that an opinion prevailed universally in the town, that a compromise had been made between your Grace and the Earl of Hertford for the borough in future ; which, if it is not to be removed, by contrary assurances, will, in a short time, put the greatest part of the Government interest there into his Lordship's hands.[2]

The nature of some at least of these necessary " assurances " one can gather from a previous letter, which Roberts had addressed to Newcastle on December 7 :

Since your Grace is pleased to assure me of your kind intentions of bringing me in to Parliament, may I entreat you to apprize Colonel Fitzroy now, that, if you do not place me elsewhere, you have destined me for a seat at Orford at the general election ? [3]

Indeed, Roberts's nomination for the borough would have been an expression of Government predominance in it.

Orford remained a Treasury borough under Roberts's management, with its expenses paid out of the secret

[1] August 1, 1758 ; Add. MSS. 32882, ff. 190-1.
[2] Add. MSS. 32900, f. 290. [3] Add. MSS. 32899, f. 366.

service funds, and paid irregularly, as was the habit. Its annual allowance consisted of £100 for "expences" and £200 for the rent of the houses. By the time of George II's death, one year's expenses and five quarters of rent were unpaid.[1] This was especially awkward, as the general election was approaching and George III for the present refused to allow any expenditure from secret service funds. Roberts was receiving sharp reminders from Orford and transmitting them to Newcastle. Thus he wrote on January 11, 1761:

> . . . the landlord of the houses at Orford [John Whittingham] grows very obstreperous for his rent. There is one year and a half's rent due last Christmas, amounting to three hundred pounds; and one hundred pounds besides, which latter sum His late Majesty constantly allowed, under Mr. Pelham's and your Grace's approbation, for the accidental yearly expences in that borough; for the payment of both which sums. . . . His late Majesty was pleased to engage himself to me, when I had the honour to receive his commands in his closet.

If this money is not sent, "I cannot pretend to appear at Orford at the general election; and for want of it I am daily pestered with impertinent and abusive letters".[2]

And again, on January 13, 1761:

> Having received this day another letter from Orford concerning the rents due for the houses there, I take the liberty to lay them before your Grace for your perusal. I have tried all means in my power to pacify the landlord, without telling him (what I imagine was improper to trust him with) that the death of the King was

[1] In the secret service accounts, March 1754–November 1756, £800 are booked against Orford; in those covering the disbursements from July 1757 till the death of George II on October 25, 1760, £900, the arrears at the latter date amounting to £350 (see Add. MSS. 33040, ff. 15-16). It seems to have been pretty well customary to be behindhand with payments: the rent for the Orford houses due at Midsummer, 1754, was paid on April 24, 1755, the rent due at Midsummer, 1759, on March 27, 1760, etc.

[2] Add. MSS. 32917, ff. 244-5.

the cause of the delay of the payment. I must now receive your Grace's directions, what answer to give him to his last importunity. Is there any objection to the laying my letter to your Grace of yesterday before the King ? [1]

When, in February 1761, Roberts was asked by Newcastle for a " state of the boroughs of Orford and Harwich ", he informed the Duke that Orford was more particularly under the direction of the Treasury :

. . . the Crown has been at a considerable expence ; and care has been taken by the manager to make most of the constituents such, as were likely to be under the influence of the First Lord of the Treasury ; tho' it costs always much trouble to keep them zealous and united.[2]

And at the end of the month, when asked for a " more particular " report on the two boroughs, he thus described Orford :

At Orford, the First Lord of the Treasury pays two hundred pounds yearly, for a lease of some houses there ; and one hundred pounds besides for the disbursements of the repairs, taxes, and the expences of the Mayor's Feast.

The majority of this Corporation are gentlemen residing chiefly in, or near London, most of whom have some employment under the Government. All these, in their turns, as many of them as are necessary, go to Orford, which is a journey of near an hundred miles, at their own expence, every Michaelmas, to elect their Mayor ; and upon other occasions accidentally when required.

Notwithstanding the sum which is thus furnished, the person who has had the management of this Corporation for many years past,[3] has expended between three and four hundred pounds out of his pocket in the course of seven years, which sum is more than the two Members usually incur for their election ; and, if he had not continued to direct it, the borough had not now been under the influence of the Treasury ; but as it is constituted at this

[1] Add. MSS. 32917, f. 298.

[2] John Roberts to the Duke of Newcastle, February 5, 1761 ; Add. MSS. 32918, f. 281.

[3] Obviously himself.

point of time, the recommendation of the First Lord of that Board for the Members, and of him only, will be prevailing.[1]

The candidates now put up for Orford were John Offley, who had sat for it since 1754 and was a particular friend of the Pelhams, and Thomas Worsley of Hovingham, an old friend of Lord Bute and George III ; and as soon as the secret service funds were made available once more, the arrears of Orford were paid on April 14, 1761.

When, in February 1763, Roberts surrendered Harwich and Orford to Lord Bute, in the correspondence which ensued between him and Newcastle,[2] he thus excused his action with regard to Orford :

> The gentlemen of Orford will, no doubt, behave like most other gentlemen nowadays ; there is not one of them for whom I ever could obtain a favour from your Grace except Mr. Powell ; they will bow before the new First Lord of the Treasury, rather than part with their employments ; and this being the case in my little concerns, as well as in the great ones respecting your Grace, it was in vain for me to think of retaining an interest, where few, except my cousin Hughson, would have sacrificed themselves, to stand by me.[3]

A full list of " the gentlemen of Orford ", with their employments noted against their names, is preserved in the papers of Charles Jenkinson, who under Bute and Grenville managed the Treasury boroughs. The list is marked " The Corporation of Orford, September 19th, 1764 " :[4]

PORTMEN.

1. Samuel Tufnell✓[5] . .	Not able to attend.
2. Abraham Farley . .	A Deputy-Chamberlain in the Exchequer.

[1] Add. MSS. 32919, ff. 322-3.

[2] For this correspondence see pp. 458-60, under Harwich.

[3] February 7, 1763 ; Add. MSS. 32946, ff. 349-50.

[4] Add. MSS. 38477, f. 37.

[5] This mark probably denotes supposed adherents of the Duke of Newcastle.

3. Richard Hammond . .	A clerk in the Pell Office and a man of fortune.
4. Richard Morley . .	Keeper of the Records at Westminster.
5. John Roberts.✓	
6. Charles Desborough . .	A Deputy-Auditor of Land Revenue.
7. George Mingay . .	Resident at Orford and a place in the Customs there.
8. Thomas Brady . .	Do.
9. Milward Rowe . .	Treasury.

Capital Burgesses.

1. Sir Joseph Ayliffe Holding, Bart.[1]	A Keeper of Records.
2. John Kirby . . .	Collector of Customs at Colchester.
3. Thos. Brady . . .	Resident at Orford and a place in the Customs there.
4. Wm. Bird . . .	Do.
5. Saml. Randall . .	Do.
6. Edward Ellis . . .	A place under the Lessee of the Light Houses at Orford.
7. John Hughson✓ . .	Mr. Roberts's nephew and a clerk under Lord Lincoln in the Auditors Office.
8. James Powell . . .	A clerk in the Custom House, London.
9. Robert Laughton.✓	
10. John Shackleton . .	Limner to His Majesty.
11. Edmund Barham . .	Agent for the Packets at Dover.
12. Charles Lloyd . . .	Treasury.

Thus of the twenty-one members of the Corporation, six only were resident at Orford, all of them in employment under the Government ; and the list as a whole can hardly be said to bear even a distant resemblance to what one

[1] Obviously Sir Joseph Ayliffe, sixth Bart. ; born 1709, died 1781 ; educated Westminster School and Lincoln's Inn, F.S.A., F.R.S. ; a prominent member of the Spalding Society ; appointed, 1763, " one of the three Keepers of the State Paper Office ".

usually understands by a Parliamentary electorate. In fact, even in the eighteenth century Orford was almost unique, and there was no reason why the Treasury should not have continued working it as a contrivance for returning " official Members " to the House of Commons so long as this remained unreformed. None the less, Lord Hertford did not give up hope. Under George Grenville, a Prime Minister with the mind and instincts of a permanent official, he obviously had no chance, but things assumed a more favourable aspect when, in 1765, the Rockingham Administration was formed with Hertford's brother, General H. S. Conway, as Secretary of State for the Southern Department. Hertford now approached Newcastle once more on the matter, and the correspondence which ensued between them fully explains the situation and what passed upon it.

Lord Hertford to the Duke of Newcastle.[1] *London. September 29th,* 1765.

My dear Lord,

As your Grace has been so good to assure me of your good offices in the affair of Orford which I have so much at heart, you will give me leave to acquaint you that the King before he decides upon the fate of it, has ordered Lord Rockingham to bring him an account of the present state and circumstances of the borough :

This account will of course be drawn at the Treasury and probably determine whether I shall at present succeed or not ;

The King is well disposed, but if it is unfavorably represented I must take it for granted he will still decide against my wishes ; I am farr from desiring His Majesty to be deceived in order to serve me. I wish him to know the true state of it, but as there are two ways of representing even truth itself it is natural I should desire the most favorable method to be pursued in this case, and that all the expences and inconveniences which do at present or may in a future day affect the borough be fully stated.

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[1] Add. MSS. 32970, ff. 97-8.

Mr. Roberts or more probably Mr. Mellish,[1] will be emploied in drawing this case. Let me therefore beg your Grace to lose no time in informing these two gentlemen that you are pleased to interest yourself for me ; Mr. Rowe [2] has likewise been often emploied there, he owes his future to your Grace's family, and therefore by notice from you may not be so much disposed to prejudice me on this occasion as he seems to have been very lately at Orford in conjunction with Mr. Loyd.[3]

I shall feel sincerely obliged by any services you shall think proper to do me upon this occasion as I cannot I will confess freely, give up my views upon this borough after all that has passed about it.

The present time seems favorable to my wishes but if I should not succeed I must comfort myself in his Majesty's favorable disposition towards me, and wait with patience for a more favorable minute.

. . . . . .

The Duke of Newcastle to Lord Hertford.[4] *Newcastle House. September 30th,* 1765.

. . . . . .

I have sent to Mr. Roberts to come to me ; he is a difficult gentleman ; and I can't pretend to say, what he will do. Mr. Mellish will be absolutely governed by My Ld. Rockingham ; but I will speak to him, when I see him. I will also send to Mr. Rowe, with whom I fancy, I have some credit. . . .

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[1] William Mellish (1711–91), M.P. for East Retford 1741–51, Commissioner of the Excise (£1000 p.a.) 1751–60, Receiver-General of the Customs (£1500 p.a.) 1760–January 1763, when he was removed in the proscription of Newcastle's friends ; Joint Secretary to the Treasury under Rockingham in July 1765 ; and again Receiver-General of the Customs 1765–86, when he resigned. About him see *Gentleman's Magazine,* 1791, vol. ii. p. 1166.

[2] Milward Rowe (1716–92), chief clerk of the Treasury ; see also list of Orford "portmen".

[3] Charles Lloyd, late private secretary to George Grenville ; about him see *Dictionary of National Biography* and essay on Harwich, p. 468.

[4] Add. MSS. 32970, f. 116.

Lord Hertford to the Duke of Newcastle.[1] *Pall Mall. Oct*r. 2d 1765.

My dear Lord,

By a letter I have received from Orford since I had the honor of seeing your Grace this morning, I find the foreign portmen and burgesses have been acting very unwarrantably at their last meeting there: Mr. Loyd whom I mentioned to your Grace this day as a person who had himself particular views on the borough, seems to have been the cheif actor in it, supported by Mr. Rowe.

I have the honor of giving your Grace this account to prove the difficulties to which the present sistem will be exposed if every step was disputed with them, and to furnish you with another argument in my favor if you are so good to use your endeavors with Lord Rockingham to remove the scruples he has adopted.

Perhaps Mr. Roberts or Mr. Mellish from his ideas may have contributed to place them there.

. . . . . .

The Duke of Newcastle to Lord Hertford.[2] *Newcastle House. October 3rd,* 1765.

My dear Lord,

I have had my friend Mr. Rowe with me this morning. He has explained the whole matter to me. I find, they proceed upon Mr. Grenville's plan; Mr. Rowe has receiv'd no orders from My Lord Rockingham; but he was sent down to Orford by Mr. Roberts, who, Rowe says, has again the management of Orford in his hands, from which he was removed by the late Treasury.

Mr. Roberts was still so ill, that he sent me word, he could not come to me, this morning. But, my dear Lord, it all depends upon the Treasury. I will talk it over fully to my Lord Rockingham: but your Lordship and *your brother* will have more weight with his Lordship, than I shall have.

I will explain the great difference of the case from what it was the last reign, and is at present. The late King absolutely refused it; this King is willing to do it. I shall give My Lord Rockingham some private reasons, which are not fit to be put in writing.[3]

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[1] Add. MSS. 32970, f. 141. [2] *Ibid.* f. 153.

[3] Was it perhaps that from their point of view it was better to have boroughs placed in the hands of well-affected Whig aristocrats than in those of the Treasury which might again pass to their opponents?

I will continue to see Roberts, as soon as possibly I can : but he is not the man to do the business. We must go higher.

. . . . . .

Lord Hertford to the Duke of Newcastle.[1] *Pall Mall. October 3rd*, 1765.

My dear Lord,

I return your Grace my sincerest thanks for your very obliging letter :

As I am going so soon to Ireland,[2] I shall not be upon the spot to sollicit the continuance of your good offices, but I shall beg the exertion of them with Lord Rockingham, where they may be very material for my service : my brother shall be instructed to talk with your Grace upon it if you will allow him to take that liberty, and I shall beg the matter may be laid before the King and its fate decided one way or other by the opinion of the present Ministry as soon as possible.

. . . . . .

The following letter explains how Lord Hertford conceived the "transfer" of the borough—some of the officials in the Corporation were to resign and their places were to be filled by nominees of his own :

Lord Hertford to the Duke of Newcastle.[3] *London. October 7th*, 1765.

. . . if His Majesty should give his free and unreserved consent to transfer his interests at Orford with the expences of the borough over to me I must then beg your Grace's influence with some of the portmen and burgesses, to make it secure to me by putting into their place some of my own freinds : your Grace knows that many of those persons have undertaken it because they were ordered by the Crown so to do without any inclination for the place and it is only attended with trouble to them : some measures of this sort may be more necessary as Mr. Loyd whom I mentioned before to your Grace seems now to have taken the mask entirely off, and to set

[1] Add. MSS. 32970, f. 163.

[2] Lord Hertford was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, 1765–66.

[3] Add. MSS. 32970, ff. 222-3.

up for a personal interest in the borough; Mr. Row is supposed to be connected with him but perhaps without foundation: Mr. Loyd has built a fine house and assembly room at Orford and without the least pretence except his being brought into the Corporation by Mr. Grenville is gone down there when there is no business to do except to prosecute his own views upon the borough and has declared his intention as I am informed of residing there six weeks. . . .

Lord Hertford's hopes were to be disappointed once more, as is shown by the following letter:

Lord Hertford to the Duke of Newcastle.[1] *Dublin Castle. November 20th*, 1765.

. . . Lord Rockingham has not behaved kindly to me about Orford, and I will confess I am much hurt; it is the object of my wishes, your Grace knows my pretensions to it, I do not ask it against the King's inclination, and I have some hopes that my undertaking a very troublesome office to serve the present Ministry might have been an argument in my favor.

. . . . . .

Same to same. Woodford. January 4th, 1766.

I am very grateful to your Grace for mentioning Orford, and whatever reason I may have to complain of Lord Rockingham's very unfriendly behaviour towards me, I am pretty sensible of your good wishes . . . .[2]

In July 1766, Rockingham resigned and the Chatham Administration was formed with H. S. Conway at his old post; and now at last Lord Hertford carried his point. It seems to have been conceded to him as part of the compensation for the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland in which he was replaced by Lord Bristol. On September 15, 1766, George Selwyn wrote to Lord Holland:

[1] Add. MSS. 32972, f. 3.
[2] Add. MSS. 32973, ff. 43-4.

L^d^ Hertf^d^ will return two Members for Orford; he has been soliciting that affair these 15 years, I hear, but it was not to interfere with any other pretensions of his Lordship's.[1]

Indeed, it did not. Alexander Wedderburn reported to George Grenville on September 25, 1766:

I have heard no other news except that Lord Beauchamp has got the place of Constable of Dublin Castle, with an additional salary of 1000*l.* to the old 500*l.*, and for life: this with Orford, and the Mastership of the Horse, is a very reasonable compensation, methinks, for a troublesome office.[2]

The same day, Richard Rigby, the Duke of Bedford's political man of business, having enumerated the various acquisitions of Lord Hertford, concluded:

. . . in short, what with sons and daughters, and boroughs, and employments of all kinds, I never heard of such a trading voyage as his Lordship's has proved.[3]

Equally incomprehensible was the matter to Newcastle, who wrote to Rockingham on September 17, 1766:

The whole transaction with my Lord Bristol and my Lord Hertford, I don't understand. It is said that the King makes over to Lord Hertford all His Majesty's interest and property in the borough of Orford for three lives or thirty-one years.[4]

And again the Duke of Portland wrote to Newcastle on October 1:

. . . the chief object of conversation, general astonishment and as general censure is the giving the borough of Orford to Lord Hertford for 30 years. . . .[5]

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[1] *Letters to Henry Fox*, edited by the Earl of Ilchester, p. 271. Orford in this passage is misspelt Oxford.

[2] *Grenville Papers*, vol. iii. p. 325. Lord Beauchamp was the eldest son of Lord Hertford.

[3] *Bedford Correspondence*, vol. iii. pp. 345-6.

[4] Add. MSS. 32977, ff. 94-5.

[5] *Ibid.* f. 186.

No one was misled by the apparent limitation put on the grant of the borough. Mrs. Sarah Osborn, a woman of considerable political experience and much worldly wisdom, wrote to her grandson, John Osborn, on October 7, 1766 :

> The borough of Orford [1] is given to Lord Hertford for his services in London. This is an unprecedented note above a pention, for it is for ever.[2]

And indeed Orford now remained a pocket borough of Lord Hertford so long as it retained its representation at Westminster. In John Robinson's list of December 1783 the following entry appears against it : [3]

> Lord Hertford's borough ; will not be altered probably,[4] but yet only classed doubtful, as the family like to support.

The representatives of Orford from 1768 till 1832 were all either members or friends of the Hertford family ; Lord Beauchamp represented it from 1768 till 1794, when he succeeded to the peerage as 2nd Marquis of Hertford ; Robert Seymour Conway, 1771–1784 ; George Seymour Conway, 1780–1790 ; William Seymour Conway, 1790–1794 ; Lord Robert Seymour, 1794 till 1812 ; and Horace Seymour was returned for it in 1820 and 1826, but elected to serve for other boroughs, Orford being merely used for purposes of hedging.

[1] Here again misprinted Oxford.

[2] *Political and Social Letters of a Lady of the Eighteenth Century*, edited by Emily F. D. Osborn (1890), p. 153.

[3] See W. T. Laprade, *Parliamentary Papers of John Robinson*, p. 91.

[4] *I.e.* its representatives, Viscount Beauchamp and Robert Seymour Conway, who had supported the Coalition Government of North and Fox that year, will be returned once more.

VIII

PARLIAMENTARY BEGGARS

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John Jeffreys

Sir Jeffrey Jeffreys of the Priory, Brecon, and St. Mary Axe, London, M.P. for Brecknock, 1690–95 and 1701–9, was a merchant "of great fortune, rank and quality".[1] His brother, John Jeffreys, M.P. for Brecknockshire, 1702–5, also a London merchant, married a daughter of Sir Anthony Sturt, M.P., and John Jeffreys, the subject of this essay, was their son. He was a well-known "club-man" and a member of fashionable London society, described by Horace Walpole as a product of "the Opera-House and White's".[2] He soon ran through most of his patrimony, and in 1749 had to sell some of his Welsh estates. After unsuccessfully contesting Brecknockshire in 1727, he sat for it 1734–47, and for Dartmouth from 1747 till his death in January 1766. His official career, which he seems to have started under the auspices of Lord Bath,[3] and continued under those of Lord Lincoln, a nephew and son-in-law of Henry Pelham, resembled that of Lord Lundy in Mr. Belloc's "Cautionary Tales"

[1] About him see W. R. Williams, *The Parliamentary History of Wales* (1895), pp. 18-19; also about John Jeffreys, senior, and John Jeffreys, junior (p. 19).

[2] See letter to Horace Mann, December 26, 1743.

[3] See Ode to Lord Bath, by Charles Hanbury-Williams, *Works* (1822), vol. i. p. 196; also "Letter to Mr. Dodsley", *ibid.* vol. ii. p. 107; both written in 1743.

(who after a brilliant start was dropped from office to office, becoming at last Curator of Big Ben). In December 1742 John Jeffreys was appointed Joint Secretary to the Treasury, and removed from it in May 1746; in May 1752 he was made Secretary to the Chancellor of the Exchequer and removed in April 1754; and he finished as Warden of the Mint and Deputy-Ranger of St. James's and Hyde Parks.

On October 26, 1757, he wrote to the Duke of Newcastle:

My Lord,

Your Grace, I hope, will forgive my taking the liberty of troubling you with this letter which is occasion'd by my not being able to acquaint your Grace with my unfortunate circumstances by word of mouth so well as by letter.

Upon the death of Mr. Pelham, your Grace was so good as to assure me I should remain in the same situation [at the Exchequer], till something should happen to provide for me in a more certain manner. —Mr. Legge would not retain me as his secretary; I was displaced; but soon after, on the death of Mr. Herbert, your Grace was pleased to appoint me Warden of the Mint, an employment the income of which at present don't produce near so much as the former, and cost me above £200 for the Patent and re-election [December 9, 1754], besides paying for the first election the same year £400. . . .

Upon Mr. Schutz's death, Lord Lincoln told me, that your Grace was very desirous I should succeed him at Richmond Gardens, for which I am greatly obliged, but that could not be obtain'd.

Merit I don't pretend to, all I plead is pity and compassion, which shine in the highest light among your Grace's other great qualities.—Though I have committed many folly's with regard to my private fortune, I flatter myself I cannot be accused of any misconduct to my patrons, acquaintance, or the publick: if I have, I am not conscious of it.

Had I been so happy as to have succeeded as Customer of Milford Haven, I should have had £300 per ann. certain to have supported me in my old age.—Indeed I don't mean to complain, but must beg leave to assure your Grace upon the word of an honest man, that no one is more faithfully attach'd to your person and

family, nor any one whose poverty stands more in need of your Grace's kind assistance and protection.

My utmost wish is some provision for life, it would be impertinent in me to chalk out any method to your Grace, but should any unfortunate accident happen to your Grace's life, your poor, unhappy, humble servant must either beg or starve; my good and gracious Lord, remove me from this very disagreeable situation.[1]

Newcastle thereupon tried to quarter Jeffreys on James West, M.P., Secretary to the Treasury, an honest and hard-working civil servant. But West rightly protested, and even threatened to resign:

. . . I hope it is not arrogant to say, that in my poor opinion, whoever brings himself into Parliament and honestly discharges the duty of the office, amply deserves the lawful fees of it. . . .

Your Grace asks, Is Mr. Jeffreys to starve? God forbid! I love him, have frequently sollicited for and done him services. May I humbly ask, am I to work for him?[2]

Newcastle thought next of a pension for Jeffreys—witness entries in the Memoranda for the King; on October 10, 1758: "Mr. Jeffreys—£500";[3] and on December 17: "Mr. Jeffreys—starving";[4] but although on December 19 he was given £500 from the secret service funds,[5] nothing seems to have been done to render his position secure, and Jeffreys continued to beg for "some additional certainty for life". "I shou'd then be enabled to pass the remainder of my days with my much honor'd friends in ease and quiet."[6] And again on December 3, 1760:

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[1] Add. MSS. 32875, ff. 275-6.

[2] James West to the Duke of Newcastle, January 17, 1758; Add. MSS. 32877, ff. 168-9.

[3] Add. MSS. 32884, f. 308.

[4] *Ibid.* f. 308; Add. MSS. 32886, f. 356.

[5] See p. 549.

[6] John Jeffreys to the Duke of Newcastle, July 12, 1760; Add. MSS. 32908, f. 225. See also his previous letter of August 21, 1759; Add. MSS. 32894, f. 360.

Your Grace will, I hope, permit me to mention my very distress'd circumstances, and how uneasy and precarious my present situation is; therefore hope your Grace will be so good as to compassionate my case: what I now receive from your Grace's favor, may, I hope, be settled in some certain manner. . . .[1]

In the same letter of December 3, 1760, Jeffreys wrote about his candidature at Dartmouth, at the impending general election. Mr. Holdsworth, Governor of Dartmouth Castle, he informed Newcastle, " has the entire interest in the borough ", and will choose him to the next Parliament —" provided he receives a letter in my favour from your Grace ". Holdsworth was written to,[2] and replied on March 24, 1761:

I had the honour to receive your Grace's recommendation of Lord Howe and Mr. Jeffreys and have the pleasure to assure your Grace that all my friends are unanimous in their behalf.[3]

In the new reign, when payments of secret service money were resumed, Jeffreys received a regular pension of £500 a year.[4] On May 26, 1762, Newcastle was, however, forced to resign office, and on May 29 John Jeffreys wrote to his successor, Lord Bute:

My Lord,

I saw the Duke of Bedford this evening, who was so good as to tell me, that his Grace has represented my situation in a kind and compassionate manner to your Lordship: any day and hour that will be most agreeable to your Lordship, I will do myself the honour of attending your Lordship.[5]

Naturally, then, in the lists which, on November 13, 1762, Newcastle drew up of the House of Commons, he had

[1] Add. MSS. 32915, f. 286.

[2] The Duke of Newcastle to Arthur Holdsworth, March 6, 1761; Add. MSS. 32919, f. 491.

[3] Add. MSS. 32921, f. 43.

[4] See accounts, April 22 and October 29, 1761, and April 27, 1762.

[5] Add. MSS. 5726, D. f. 169.

to class his "poor, unhappy, humble servant" Jeffreys among his opponents.[1] The same story is told by the list compiled for Bute about the middle of December 1761, and further adnotated during the following years. At first the word "Newcastle" was written against the name of Jeffreys; this was subsequently crossed through, and "Government" substituted for it.[2]

Newcastle's resignation had not immediately produced an open break between him and the Court; that came after he had gone into opposition to the Preliminaries of the Peace of Paris. When, consequently, in December 1762, a proscription was started of his friends and dependants, some of them, who might have been spared, felt in honour bound to resign of their own free will. George III, in a letter to Bute, having mentioned a few of the resignations, added: "... little Jeffries, I found from Lord Egremont, was to be ordered by the D[uke] of N[ewcastle] to retire, he must then starve, being these many years a bankrupt; thus two or three base, designing men, to distress Government, ruin their dependents. ..."[3] Still, Jeffreys did not "retire" and Newcastle did not take it amiss—for what could one expect from a pauper? He voted with his masters and kept in with his friends.[4]

When on July 10, 1765, the Rockingham Government was formed, with the Duke of Newcastle for Lord Privy Seal, John Jeffreys wrote to him, from Bath, in a hand grown shaky with age and illness:

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[1] Add. MSS. 33000, f. 153. [2] Add. MSS. 38333, f. 80.

[3] Bute MSS. The letter is undated, and merely marked "45[m] pt. 10".

[4] Lord Ashburnham wrote to Newcastle on August 2, 1763: "I have had the satisfaction to hear by Mr. Jeffrys ... that he left you and the Duchess of Newcastle yesterday in perfect health ..." (Add. MSS. 32950, f. 27). Thus Jeffreys continued to be received at Claremont; and when Newcastle, on August 29, 1763, anticipating a return to office, drew up a list of those "to be considered", Jeffreys was in it (*ibid.* f. 278).

My Lord,

Give me leave to congratulate your Grace, and the publick, on this most agreeable and happy change in the Administration.

Permit me, my Lord, to beg the favor of your Grace to recommend me to Lord Rockingham's protection. I now receive 1,100*l.* per ann., in your Grace's Administration it was 200*l.* more.

I shou'd have done myself the honor of waiting on your Grace immediately, but my medical director insists on my staying at least a fortnight longer :—indeed, I was in a very dangerous state of health when I first came to this place, but have received so great and constant a benefit from drinking these waters, that I hope your Grace will excuse my not paying my respects in person so soon as I could wish.[1]

He did not live to congratulate yet another Government (and the publick) on a further "agreeable and happy change"; for he died in January 1766.

Thomas Medlycott

The first of the family to enter Parliament was Thomas Medlycott, a distinguished barrister who sat for Abingdon, 1689–90. His eldest son, James, represented Milborne Port from 1710 till 1722; another, Thomas, 1727–34; this Thomas Medlycott was also a member of the Irish Parliament from 1727 till his death in 1760, and Chief Commissioner of Revenue in Ireland. He is occasionally confused with Thomas Medlycott, the subject of this essay, who was the son of James Medlycott and succeeded his uncle Thomas in the representation of Milborne Port. He was born in 1697 and died in July 1763, and with a break of five years (1742–47) sat for Milborne Port from 1734 till his death. There is no record of his having ever spoken in Parliament, and his name is hardly ever mentioned in contemporary political correspondence. When Newcastle became First Lord of the Treasury in March 1754, Medlycott was in

[1] July 13, 1765; Add. MSS. 32967, f. 385.

receipt of a secret service pension of £600 a year, which he still enjoyed when Newcastle resigned in May 1762. He tried to get some office, and the only place he is known ever to have held was curiously appropriate—in 1742 he was appointed Commissioner of Hawkers and Pedlars. To none of his letters in the Newcastle Papers is there a reply ; in fact, no one of those whom I here class as " Parliamentary beggars " seems ever to have been honoured with a written answer from the Duke. Still, wretched as he seems in his appeals to Newcastle, there is reason to believe that he remained faithful to the Duke after his removal from office ; or at least he preserved appearances, which many others dispensed with. His letters to Newcastle can be left to tell the story.

December 31, 1755.

. . . Your Grace knows my present situation well, which if it could be settled upon the Irish Establishment [1] would fix me yours for ever. If you have any mistrust, I will quitt my seat in Parliament now to any friend of yours or when your Grace shall think proper to call upon me so to do, for all I mean upon my honor is to free my self from any influence but yours in whose cause I am embarked and will at all events continue so to my dying day.[2]

On June 9, 1756, he thus leads up to a request to be received by the Duke : " As I have been very little troublesome to you this year. . . ." [3] And he writes again on December 11, 1756 : " For tho I see great things done for many people I will not even ask what you have done for your Grace's real friend and obedient servant. . . ." [4] And during the Cabinet crisis in the spring of 1757 :

Give me leave, my Lord Duke, to assure you that interest had no part in my consideration when I offerd my service to you at the begining of this sessions, nor is it any motive towards my perse-

[1] *I.e.* he asked that his pension be settled on the Irish Establishment, which would have rendered it more secure.

[2] Add. MSS. 32861, f. 512.

[3] Add. MSS. 32865, f. 243.

[4] Add. MSS. 32869, f. 345.

vering in it but I hope it will be no offence to tell your Grace that I am in my body politick what the cripple at the pool of Bethesday was in his body naturall, when the waters are troubled I have no body to putt me. . . .[1]

On May 9, 1758, he asks the Duke

to extend your bounty a little further for this year only because I have strained every point to gett rid of an obligation that I was under to my collegue,[2] but am I thank God now independent of him.[3]

January 20, 1761.

I am just come from Milborn Port where I had an opposition allmost too mighty to withstand. But I used my utmost efforts and have succeeded in order to be of service to you if you should ever want it which I hope will induce you to give me some extraordinary aid this year. I shall be very moderate in my desires which if you comply with cannot make me more your friend but will enable me to resist all opposition that may happen at the next election. In short, I shall be miserable without your assistance but happy with it. . . .[4]

February 25, 1761.

I don't know that I have been admitted to a few minutes conversation with you in your dressing room these severall years, the reason of which I cannott tell except it is that I am waining in your favour; if so, I am sorry for it, but my heart is as warm towards you as ever. I wanted yesterday to tell you something that nearly concerns you. If you know it allready, my good will is not the less, if you dont know it, 'tis proper you should. I shall wait on you next Tuesday.

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[1] April 3, 1757; Add. MSS. 32870, f. 360.

[2] Medlycott's colleague at Milborne Port was Edward Walter, son of Paget and grandson of Peter Walter, "the usurer" depicted as "Peter Pounce" by Fielding. He sat for Milborne Port, 1754–74, when he was returned but unseated. About the family see Hutchins, *History of Dorset*, vol. iii. pp. 671-2; and E. C. Waters, "The Walters of Surrey, temp. George II" in *The Herald and Genealogist*, vol. 8, pp. 1-5.

[3] Add. MSS. 32879, f. 467.

[4] Add. MSS. 32917, f. 443. As no money was issued from the Treasury for the general election of 1761, it is to be feared that Medlycott remained "miserable".

May 4, 1762.

A favour well bestowed is allmost as great an honor to him who confers it as to him who receives it, for which reason I should be highly obliged to your Grace if you would inable me to take leave of you next Thursday for the summer having been allready six months in town and every day I stay here is prejudiciall to the health as well as to the affairs of etc.

P.S.—I shall not quit the town if anything materiall wants me.[1]

May 12, 1762.

I have now conform'd to your Grace's desire of staying till allmost the end of the session of Parliament and hope therefore that you will oblige me to-morrow. If you condescend I give you my word and honour that I will not go out of town till the Sunday sevenight after, but I have an affair to transact that cant be done but by your Grace's assistance. . . .[2]

May 29, 1762.

This waites on you to return you my most humble thanks for this last as well as all former favours. I hope God has given me a gratefull heart and that I shall show upon all occasions how sincerely I am etc.[3]

In the list of the House of Commons drawn up on November 13, 1762, Newcastle still classed Medlycott among his friends; but there were so many about whom he was mistaken that this proves little. The last letter Thomas Medlycott wrote to Newcastle, though no evidence for the part he took in Parliament, shows at least that he retained some regard for the fallen Minister:

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[1] Add. MSS. 32938, f. 57; this was a request for an earlier payment of his secret service pension.

[2] *Ibid.* f. 196. The instalment due on his secret service pension of £600 was not, however, paid to him till May 25, the last day of Newcastle's Administration. The next letter is the acknowledgment. The money was paid into Medlycott's account at Child's bank; for receipt see Add. MSS. 33056, f. 20.

[3] Add. MSS. 32939, f. 97.

April 8, 1763.

I did myself the honour to call at your house as soon as I was able to crawle and indeed before I could well gett up your steps to your house. The reason of my waiting on you was to enquire after your Grace's health and to assure you of the fidelity of etc.[1]

Thomas Medlycott died on July 24, 1763.

Robert Fairfax

The case of Robert Fairfax illustrates the charitable character of the secret service funds and the benevolence of those who administered them. "Gratuities" were obtained for him by Newcastle because he was "starving"; his defection to Bute and Grenville was excused—for what else could be expected from one so situated? And his pension was continued by George III after he had ceased to be a Member of Parliament.

Robert Fairfax was the third son of Thomas, fifth Baron Fairfax, a cousin once removed of the famous Commander-in-Chief of the Parliamentary Army. His mother was the daughter and heiress of Thomas, second Baron Colepeper, from 1680–82 Governor of Virginia,[2] and through her Leeds Castle in Kent, the "Northern Neck" in Virginia, comprising 5,282,000 acres, and Lord Colepeper's debts, came into the Fairfax family. Andrew Burnaby, in the account of the family appended to his *Travels through the Middle Settlements in North America*,[3] relates how Robert Fairfax's eldest brother, Thomas, sixth Lord Fairfax, was

persuaded, upon his brother Henry's arriving at the age of twenty-one years, or rather compelled by the ladies Culpepper and Fairfax under a menace, in case of refusal, of never inheriting the Northern Neck, to cut off the intail and to sell Denton Hall and the Yorkshire

[1] Add. MSS. 32948, f. 75.

[2] His appointment was dated 1675, but he did not go out till 1680.

[3] Third edition (1798), Appendix No. 4, pp. 159-72.

estates . . . in order to redeem those of the late Lord Culpepper, that had descended to his heiress, exceedingly encumbered and deeply mortgaged. This circumstance happened while Lord Fairfax was at Oxford. . . . He conceived a violent disgust against the ladies who, as he used to say, had treated him with such unparalleled cruelty; and ever afterwards expressed the keenest sense of the injury that had been done, as he thought, to the Fairfax family.[1]

The story is touching, but hardly credible in all its detail when examined in the light of ascertainable dates. Thomas, fifth Lord Fairfax, died on January 10, 1709/10, and his mother-in-law, Lady Colepeper,[2] on May 10 of the same year. Thomas, sixth Lord Fairfax, was born in 1692, and therefore at the time of her death even he was under age. He matriculated at Oxford in January 1709/10, and his brother Henry in March 1713/14, aged 16, and by the time Henry came of age neither is likely to have been at Oxford any longer. Their mother died on June 1, 1719; and thus there is a chance of the entail having been cut off and Denton sold in her lifetime. So much, however, is certain, that the Fairfax estates were heavily encumbered and that even the heir to the title found himself in straitened circumstances.

A man who played a considerable part in the lives of that generation of Fairfaxes was a first cousin of their father, Bryan Fairfax, from 1723 till his death in 1749 a Commissioner of the Customs. He was known to his contemporaries as a scholar and gentleman, an antiquary of distinction, an expert collector of coins, medals, marbles, and books, Vice-President of the Society for the Encouragement of Learning.[3] To the young Fairfaxes he was a kind

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 159.

[2] Burnaby describes her as "a princess of the House of Hesse-Cassel"; but in reality she was the daughter of Jan van Hesse, Heer van Piershil, in Zealand.

[3] About him see *Dictionary of National Biography*, and John Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes*, vol. v. pp. 326-7.

friend and quasi-guardian to whom they turned in their troubles. Mary complained to him when she suffered from an excess of "imployment" in the house and of "fategue";[1] Robert had to be consoled and advised by him when a vacant majority in the Life Guards was given to another captain;[2] Lord Fairfax had to be instructed how to supply a "qualification" for Parliament to Robert when he stood for Maidstone.[3] Among this correspondence is also a letter (unfortunately without date) from Bryan Fairfax to Lord Fairfax dealing with the proposed sale of Denton. Bryan computed the value of his cousin's estates at £44,000; "your debts I cannot possibly imagine to be more than £27,000, including my Lady's joynture".[4] Then follows a discourse on the selling of ancestral estates so fine and so characteristic of the eighteenth century as to deserve being quoted at some length:

. . I dont find that by any way you can make £100 p. ann. more by parting with Denton then by keeping it, which with humble submission I dont think equivalent to more valuable considerations. It is a great disgrace (if possible to be avoided) to have sold one's whole estate, and in the eye of the world I think a lord with his paternall seat and by the name of which he has been allways distinguish'd may make a better figure in England then one with much more money in his pockett, like a merchant, that has not a foot of land and consequently no more interest.[5] And if you think

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[1] "I had a letter this week from the Cornet [presumably Robert], who tells me he is mighty well but dont like Coventry. I hope he on't have occasion to stay longer than a month, for I am left in care of so large a family which is full imployment for me, without stiring out of the house, and a fategue I should be glad to be rid off" (Mary Fairfax to Bryan Fairfax, Leeds Castle, October 5, 1726, *Correspondence of the Family of Fairfax*, vol. ii.; Add. MSS. 30306, f. 63).

[2] *Ibid.* f. 106. [3] *Ibid.* f. 108.

[4] As Thomas, sixth Lord Fairfax, was never married, this must refer to his mother's jointure, which seems to confirm the sale having been carried out, or at least mooted, in her lifetime.

[5] *I.e.* Parliamentary interest through the tenants whose votes he can command.

the help of great men may be of use to you, by keeping this estate you may sometime or other expect to find it from your countrymen such as the Dukes of Somersett, Devonshire, Newcastle, the Earl of Burlington, and besides the generality of the gentry who have all sometime or other, courted the family, and perhaps may have occasion again, which should you part with they respect no more than a Scotch or Irish lord being able to do them no service here. I shall not mention those imaginary arguments of a family, of the place where your ancestors were born and bury'd and which name your successors must go by.[1]

Denton was sold after all,[2] and in 1735 Lord Fairfax went out to Virginia to survey his American inheritance, and was sorely disappointed by "the irregularity of the books" and the confusion into which his coming over put the family of his manager.[3] In 1740 he was back in England, but a few years later, having made over Leeds Castle to his brother Robert, he returned to America for good, to continue there, under radically different conditions, the typical life of an English country gentleman.

He was Lord Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum of the county of Frederic, presided at the county courts held at Winchester, where during the sessions he always kept an open table, and acted as surveyor and overseer of the highways and public roads. His chief if not sole amusement was hunting; . . . so unexceptionable and disinterested was his behaviour, both public and private, and so generally was he beloved and respected, that during the contest between Great Britain and America he never met with the least insult or molestation from either party, but was suffered to go on in his improvement and cultivation of the Northern Neck. . . .[4]

His motive in settling in America was of the most noble and

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[1] Add. MSS. 30306, f. 110.

[2] I have not been able to trace the date of the sale in any of the ordinary local histories or in any work dealing with the Fairfax family. It seems to have been sold to Ibbetson, a Leeds merchant.

[3] See letter from Lord Fairfax to Bryan Fairfax, South Potowmack, July 14, 1735; Add. MSS. 30306, f. 144. The letter contains an interesting description of the style of Virginia country houses.

[4] A. Burnaby, *op. cit.* p. 163.

heroic kind. It was, as he always himself declared, to settle and cultivate that beautiful and immense tract of country of which he was proprietor; and he succeeded beyond his most sanguine expectations, for the Northern Neck was better peopled, better cultivated, and more improved than any other part of the dominion of Virginia.[1]

A connexion was established between the families of Fairfax and Washington. In 1743, Ann, eldest daughter of Colonel William Fairfax and half-sister of Bryan, who was in time to become eighth Baron Fairfax, married Laurence, the elder brother of George Washington; and in 1748–49 Lord Fairfax employed George Washington to survey his lands west of the Blue Ridge mountains. Lord Fairfax died on March 12, 1782.

To return to Robert Fairfax: he was born in 1707, served in the Horse Guards, but sold his commission in 1746. In 1741 he married Martha, daughter and coheiress of Anthony Collins, and after her death in 1749, Dorothy, a sister of Thomas Best, M.P. From 1740–41, and again from 1747–54, he represented Maidstone in Parliament (it seems under the patronage of Lord Aylesford), and in 1754, with the support of the Duke of Dorset, was returned for Kent. Bryan Fairfax, dying in 1749, bequeathed to him "a very considerable fortune", besides his collections. None the less, Robert Fairfax continued to suffer from a shortage of money, and in April 1751 he sold by auction the coins and medals which Bryan had prized so much, and in 1756 was about to deal in the same way with his library; it was saved from dispersal by Francis Child of Osterley (the banker, and a kinsman of Fairfax's first wife) buying it from him privately for £2000.[2] But all this was not sufficient to cover his requirements, increased as they were by election expenses. In 1753, when he had to borrow money for the impending

[1] A. Burnaby, *op. cit.* p. 166.

[2] See John Nichols, *op. cit.* vol. v. p. 327.

general election, he could supply only "bad security",[1] and at the approach of the next general election, Fairfax makes his appearance in Newcastle's agony columns.

Thus in Newcastle's Memorandums for the King, on April 12, 1759, appears the following entry:

> Mr. Fairfax—The D[e] Dorset.
> The Whig cause in Kent.
> £500 end of the session.
> £500 the beginning of the next.

And on July 26, 1759, Robert Fairfax gave to Newcastle the following pathetic account of "the unhappy situation" of his affairs:

> I have been near eighteen years in Parliament, have stood two contested elections, one for Maidstone, the other for the county of Kent, which has run me into such difficultys and distress that I shall have an execution next week in my house at Leeds Castle, which will be my absolute ruin and distruction, and oblige me to leave the county for ever. My estate, which is small is all entail'd, so that I can't raise one shilling to help myself. I therefore most humbly intreat your Grace, if you think proper to recommend me to His Majesty's favour and protection for some assistance. I hope my conduct both in Parliament and private life will in some degree induce your Grace to think me worthy of being named to His Majesty, as I have never been troublesome or ask'd any thing for my self but on this occasion.[2]

This appeal produced an immediate return, a thing almost unknown in Newcastle's practice; in the secret

[1] See p. 245. Some rearrangements seem to have been made to enable Fairfax to raise the money he required for the election. The following note appears in Newcastle's "Memoranda" of March 16, 1754 (Add. MSS. 32995, f. 97): "Mr. West represents that if the security is not delivered up to Mr. Fairfax to get more money upon, Mr. Fairfax will not be able to go on with the election." And on March 30 (*ibid.* p. 132): "Lord George Sackville—Mr. Fairfax to give up the mortgage on condition of his raising money upon it for the election."

[2] Add. MSS. 32893, f. 293.

service accounts, under date of July 27, 1759, appears the following entry:

To Mr. Fairfax as a gratuity by Your Majesty's particular order £500

Still, this was not a regular pension, only a gratuity; and on May 23, 1760, the name of Fairfax appears again in the Memorandums for the King with £500 against it.[1] The proposal was repeated on May 26,[2] and once more met with immediate success; for under date of May 27 there appears the entry of another £500 paid to Mr. Fairfax "by Your Majesty's particular order".

When, early in 1761, Lord Middlesex, the eldest son of the Duke of Dorset, thought of standing for Kent, Fairfax seems to have been prepared to make way for him. "Lord S[ondes] tells me Fairfax has declared himself unqualified", wrote Sir George Oxenden, a Kentish squire, to Newcastle on February 1, 1761, "and that Lord Middlesex is to stand in his room. I hope in God not, for I do not know a man so improper in the world as he is. . . ."[3] Such was the unpopularity of Lord Middlesex that he had to give up his intention, and Sir Wyndham Knatchbull and Fairfax were returned unopposed for the county. It may seem surprising that a man in Robert Fairfax's circumstances should have been elected by one of the proudest and most independent counties of England, when his constituents must have known that he could not afford to be either. But the same charitable sentiments which made Newcastle spend money on him, when he could easily have found another suitable Whig candidate, must have made his neighbours unwilling to displace him. There always has been considerable reluctance in Englishmen to deprive anyone of his "job", and even the renowned severity to naval and military officers in the

[1] Add. MSS. 32906, f. 235.

[2] *Ibid.* f. 277.

[3] Add. MSS. 32918, f. 178.

eighteenth century was probably much more Hanoverian than British.

Very soon the tale of Robert Fairfax's financial difficulties was restarted. Payments from secret service funds had been resumed in March 1761, and on May 1 Newcastle put down in his Memorandums :

> Mr. Fairfax £500 now—another next year—his great distress—had £1000 of the late King.[1]

And again on June 8, 1761 :

> Mr. Fairfax—£500—charity.

But this time the success was not immediate, and on July 11 Lord Sondes wrote to Newcastle :

> I have receiv'd a letter from Mr. Fairfax, who begs your Grace to think of him before it is too late, as his affair presses very hard upon him at this time.[2]

On October 22 Newcastle again noted down : " Mr. Fairfax—500*l.* now and 500*l.* more on the rising of Parliament ", and in four further Memoranda the entry appears as " Mr. Fairfax starving—£500 ",[3] the last two entries being prompted by the following letter from Fairfax, dated December 8 :

> Your Grace has long been acquainted with the unhappy situation of my affairs. Permitt me therefore to tell you that they are now come to a crisis, and unless your Grace will please to give me your immediate assistance, I must sink under the weight of my misfortunes, I am neither able to stay here nor go home to my house in the country.
>
> I hope your Grace will consider my distress'd condition, and not suffer me to be torn in pieces and forc'd to leave my country and friends. I beg pardon for troubling you so often, but hope your Grace will forgive me. . . .[4]

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[1] Add. MSS. 32922, f. 290. [2] Add. MSS. 32925, f. 18.

[3] November 13, 1761, Add. MSS. 32931, f. 17 ; November 24, *ibid.* f. 245 ; December 8, Add. MSS. 32932, f. 34; and December 9, *ibid.* f. 72.

[4] *Ibid.* f. 56.

After this pathetic appeal the request was granted once more. Witness the entry in the secret service accounts on December 10, 1761 :

> To Mr. Fairfax as a gratuity by Your Majesty's particular order £500

These gratuities were now assuming such a regular character as very nearly to constitute a pension. They were treated as such in a " List of Members of Parliament who receive private pensions " drawn up some time in 1761,[1] though its character of a pension was queried in the list of May 18, 1762.[2] Anyhow, on the very last day of his official life, Newcastle still thought of the starving, distressed Fairfax, and the penultimate entry in his secret service accounts (the last is the final payment to himself) was another £500 " as a gratuity " to Fairfax.

Newcastle was afraid that this would not be continued to Fairfax by his successors.[3] But things seem soon to have taken a different turn. In the list of the House of Commons compiled on November 13, 1762, Newcastle still classed Robert Fairfax as one of his friends, but at this time Henry Fox had already started his operations to win votes for the Treaty of Paris, and on November 27 Lord Sondes wrote to Newcastle :

> I have seen Mr. F——x this morning, who says he will call on your Grace next week. I dont much like his discourse. . . .[4]

Fairfax now became a regular adherent of the Government and had to follow them through thick and thin. When in the summer of 1763 the Grenville Administration tried to obtain addresses from the counties approving of

[1] Add. MSS. 33040, f. 274. [2] *Ibid.* ff. 358-60.

[3] See list of pensions " *after* and *before* Wednesday, May 26, 1762 ", *ibid.* f. 390.

[4] Add. MSS. 32945, f. 170. " F—x " stands obviously for Fairfax ; Sondes, by marriage a nephew of Newcastle, was his manager for Kent.

the Treaty of Paris, Fairfax had to move one in Kent. With unfeigned compassion, Newcastle wrote to Rockingham on July 30, 1763 :

> In Kent the address, proposed by poor Fairfax, was rejected, by Sir Wyndham Knatchbul (the other Member for the county) and 14 more of the Grand Jury against Fairfax and 5, viz. 15 against 6. This was owing to the spirit and zeal of my friend Rose Fuller.[1]

And similarly to Lord Hardwicke on August 2 :

> I am heartily sorry for poor Fairfax ; I doubt, not only his circumstances, but also that our old friend the Duke of Dorset or my Lord George [Sackville] had a considerable share in it. . . .[2]

Hardwicke replied on August 6 :

> As to poor Mr. Fairfax your Grace may be in the right as to the persons who swayed him ; but nobody can wonder at what he did.[3]

Naturally Fairfax was not one of the 220 who very nearly defeated the Grenville Administration over General Warrants on February 17–18, 1764 ; but he was not one of those either who defied the Rockingham Administration over the repeal of the Stamp Act. And when in 1766 the Chatham Administration was formed, he was again with the Government.

He withdrew from Parliament in 1768, but the pension was charitably continued to him—witness the following letter addressed to him by George Onslow on May 2, 1772 :

> Several days ago I spoke to Mr. Robinson [Secretary to the Treasury] desiring him to remind Lord North that your money was due at Lady Day, and wish'd him to let me have it for you. He has been particularly busy of late which I suppose is the reason of my not having heard from him on the subject. I imagine and

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[1] Add. MSS. 32949, ff. 438-9. See also letter from Sir Wyndham Knatchbull to Lord Hardwicke, July 24, 1763 (Add. MSS. 35692, f. 487) ; he puts the numbers as 16 *v.* 5.

[2] Add. MSS. 32950, ff. 16-17.

[3] *Ibid.* f. 45.

hope that nothing can prevent its being ready for you next week. . . .[1]

In the autumn of 1778 Fairfax entertained the King and Queen at Leeds Castle,[2] and in 1782 he succeeded his brother as seventh Baron Fairfax, only to see whatever he inherited from him of the American estates confiscated by the Legislature of South Carolina. The compensation he claimed for his loss was £98,000, but only £13,758 were awarded to him by the Commission of Enquiry.[3] He died in 1793, and the title passed to his American cousins.

Charles Whitworth

Charles Whitworth, a son of Francis Whitworth, who represented Minehead from 1723 till his death in 1742, was a nephew of the well-known diplomat Lord Whitworth, and the father of the even better known British Ambassador to Russia, Charles, first Earl Whitworth. He was born about 1721,[4] and as a child of six suffered his first disappointment in the matter of official promotion. George I had intended to give him the reversion of his father's sinecure of Secretary and Clerk of the Courts in the Island

[1] " Original Letters and Papers addressed or relating to Members of the Fairfax Family, 1635–1790 ", Add. MSS. 11325, f. 37. See also the secret service accounts of John Robinson for the years 1779–82, Add. MSS. 37836, ff. 61-138 ; Fairfax appears in them in receipt of a regular pension of £500 p.a. ; moreover, there is an entry under date of June 19, 1779, " Robert Fairfax by order £1000."

[2] Two letters from Lord Amherst to the King, dealing with the preparations for this visit, are published by Sir John Fortescue in *The Correspondence of King George III*, vol. iv. pp. 209 and 212.

[3] R.O., A.O. 12/109.

[4] Mr. W. R. Williams, in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, says that he was born about 1714, but gives no authority for the statement ; I myself have a note that he was born about 1721, but do not remember what was my authority ; still, as he had not been to either University and was admitted to Lincoln's Inn in 1738, 1714 seems certainly too early a date.

of Barbadoes, but died before the patent was completed ;[1] thus Charles Whitworth started life with a well-founded grievance. On the death of his father he meant to apply for his West Indian sinecure, but was persuaded to desist, having received a promise from the Duke of Newcastle to provide for him ;[2] this added a well-founded hope to his political equipment. In 1747 he was returned to Parliament for his father's constituency, Minehead (the Whitworth family owned the adjoining manor of Blackford), and in 1749 married Martha, daughter of Richard Shelley, Commissioner of the Stamp Office, who was a brother of Sir John Shelley, fourth Baronet, the husband of Newcastle's sister Margaret. As even the most distant connexion with the Pelham tribe usually counted with the Duke, who had intense family feeling and no children, this marriage seemed to improve Charles Whitworth's chances, and during the next years he became remarkable for application, of the kind best known to eighteenth-century politicians. (Mr. W. R. Williams remarks about him in the *Dictionary of National Biography*—where Whitworth's numerous compilations on trade and Parliament have earned him a place—that he was "a great student of Parliamentary customs").

As your Grace [he wrote to Newcastle on April 10, 1750] has frequently done me the honour to testify your readiness to serve me, I have taken all opportunities of waiting upon your Grace, but have never troubled your Grace for anything, being sensible your Grace would have confirmed your assurances, if an opportunity had offered, therefore take the liberty to trouble your Grace, as your Grace. . . .[3]

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[1] See an undated memorial from Francis Whitworth asking that the reversion be none the less given to his son Charles ; Add. MSS. 33057, f. 501.

[2] See letter from Charles Whitworth to the Duke of Newcastle, November 10, 1755, reminding him of the promise and the circumstances in which it was given ; Add. MSS. 32860, f. 436.

[3] Add. MSS. 32720, f. 201.

The letter is humble in tone, and "your Grace" occurs almost in every line.

The next year he applied for a place in the establishment of the Prince of Wales; he was ambitious, was looking forward to a long and distinguished career, and thought it best to connect himself, if possible, with the King under whom it was most likely to develop.

> I intreat your Grace [he wrote on April 19, 1751] that you will not suffer an old friend to whom you have made such kind professions to be left out on such an occasion, as the honour of being in this young Prince's family is what as a young man I should covet preferable to anything.[1]

As the years went by, his hopes and claims sank, but his manner became more aggressive. On September 13, 1753, he once more reminded Newcastle of the frequent promises given him, and asked to succeed Sir Andrew Fountain as Warden of the Mint;[2] and the next letter, of October 17, starts with an inimitable sentence blending anxiety with assurances of trust, and aggressive presumption with apparent humility:

> I flatter myself I am not out of your Grace's thoughts, so am persuaded though not apprised, of your Grace's good services to procure me the honour of the employment I took the liberty to apply for. . . .[3]

His first term of seven years in Parliament ended in disappointment, and now he had to face a contest at the forthcoming general election, the other two candidates being Daniel Boone, supported by Lord Egmont (both quondam adherents of Leicester House who, since the death of Frederick, Prince of Wales, had made their peace with Newcastle), and Henry Shiffner, a London merchant who did not suffer from any particular views, but only

[1] Add. MSS. 32724, f. 240. Had Whitworth been born in 1714, he would hardly have described himself in 1751 as "a young man".

[2] Add. MSS. 32732, f. 626.

[3] Add. MSS. 32733, f. 87.

from an " ambition to serve his country in Parliament ". An accidental remark in a later letter [1] would seem to indicate that at the last moment Newcastle wished Whitworth to withdraw; he refused, and wrote to the Duke on April 4:

My Lord,

That your Grace might not think I came away with any intention of throwing myself into measures or with people I have opposed from principles, I trouble your Grace with this to assure you to the contrary, and that I write down to my friends at the borough upon the same Whig principles as I have allways profest. My farther conduct I leave to your Grace's answer as you mentioned to-morrow, being desirous of still continuing, my Lord, your etc.[2]

It is not clear what those " Whig principles " were, or where one had to look for a political opposition, but the nature of Newcastle's answer expected for " to-morrow " indeed appears on that day (April 5, 1754) in the secret service accounts:

Mr. Whitworth for Minehead . . . . £1000.[3]

Whitworth was returned, with Daniel Boone for his colleague, and having been brought into Parliament with the help of Government money, he had, as was so often the case, to be further supported whilst in it. Beginning with February 1755, he received a private pension from secret service funds of £400 a year.[4] He would, however, have

[1] Before the general election of 1761 Whitworth asked Newcastle, should the Duke wish him to give up Minehead, to let him know in time as it might be impossible for him to withdraw after having entered into it, " as was the case last time " (August 21, 1760; Add. MSS. 32910, f. 198).

[2] Add. MSS. 32735, f. 38.

[3] Add. MSS. 33044, f. 18; see pp. 247 and 520.

[4] See Add. MSS. 33038, f. 352, among " Pensions added since April 1754 ", " Mr. Whitworth—£400 "; also f. 415, " Pensions in March 1755 ", and ff. 497-8, for April 1756. In the secret service accounts (see Appendix), entries of £200 each, paid to Whitworth, appear on February 25, June 18, and December 12, 1755, and on April 6, 1756; on September 3, 1756, £100 " to Midsummer ".

preferred a place, as more honorific and more promising for the future. On the death of William Hay, M.P., Whitworth was among the many who aspired to succeed him as Keeper of the Records in the Tower (the net annual value of the place was £420). It was given to his wife's cousin, John Shelley, M.P.

Richard Shelley, Whitworth's father-in-law, died in November 1755, and although his place of Commissioner of the Stamp Office was incompatible with a seat in Parliament, Charles Whitworth would have been only too keen to accept it; and everything now seemed to plead in his favour. None the less, the place was given to another applicant.[1] Embittered by this disappointment, Whitworth felt even more severely the death of his father-in-law and reproached Newcastle with such insensibility to a mourner.

> As I intended myself the honour of applying to your Grace in part to repair the loss sustained by the death of so valuable a friend as poor Mr. Shelley, your Grace is sensible it must add to my concern, to find myself not likely to succeed.
>
> I shall from this, my Lord, despair of being favourd with any preferment, since there will never be wanting variety of sollicitations to your Grace for whatever should fall.[2]

In 1756 a new household was formed for the Prince of Wales, who had now reached the age of eighteen, and on October 31 Whitworth wrote to Newcastle:

> I was in hopes your Grace would have done me the honour of recommending me to one of the employments lately establisht in the Prince of Wales' household, as I flatter myself your Grace intends fulfilling the promise you have so frequently given me.[3]

A fortnight later Newcastle resigned office, and he had

[1] To George Whitmore; see "Lord Powis and his Shropshire Men", pp. 311-13.

[2] November 10, 1755; Add. MSS. 32860, f. 436.

[3] Add. MSS. 32868, f. 515.

not yet resumed it when, on May 6, 1757, Whitworth, in anticipation of the event, was again soliciting his favour :

I cannot help begging your Grace's recommendation to some employment which I dare say your Grace will shortly have opportunity of doing. The uneasiness I am under at seeing so many gentlemen fixed in places, makes me so frequently troublesome to your Grace upon the occasion.[1]

He returned to the charge with the approach of the Parliamentary session :

I flatter myself [he wrote on August 24, 1757] your Grace will before the meeting of Parliament honour me with your recommendation to some employment, as nobody has been a more constant supporter of Government, and your Grace has promised me so frequently your assistance.[2]

Instead of a place, his pension of £400 p.a. was continued.[3] But Whitworth persisted, and on February 14, 1758, he applied to Newcastle for the Deputy-Governorship of Gravesend and Tilbury, which had fallen vacant. " As it is in my neighbourhood [he owned Leybourne in Kent] will be more agreable than a place that may require a more constant attendance in London ", and as he had been in the army, it would not vacate his seat in Parliament.[4] On February 18 he added : " I know it will be agreable to the principal people of our county."[5] But should Newcastle not choose to solicit that for him, he had another scheme to submit which would have involved his withdrawal from Parliament :

That if Mr. Vaughan or any other elderly and infirm gentleman in the Customs or Excise would be induced to let my name be put

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[1] Add. MSS. 32871, f. 29. [2] Add. MSS. 32873, f. 273.

[3] On October 19, 1757, there is an entry in the secret service accounts " To Mr. C. Whitworth, half a year, £200 ". On January 25, 1758, " one quarter to Christmas, £100 "; on April 20, 1758, " one quarter to Lady Day, £100 "; and on July 7, " one quarter to Midsummer, £100 ". See Appendix.

[4] Add. MSS. 32877, f. 462. [5] *Ibid.* f. 486.

into the Commission, I would . . . allow the gentleman a proportion for his retirement; at the same time, I could give my interest to any person your Grace would approve of, who might be chose at Minehead and secure a permanent interest.[1]

On this occasion, however, Newcastle obtained for him the post at Tilbury, but it took some time before the matter was settled.

As your Grace [Whitworth wrote on July 24] must naturally conceive the uneasy situation of uncertainty, I intreat your Grace to relieve me out of the anxiety and put it out of the power of common accidents to prevent my succeeding.[2]

A fortnight later Whitworth effusively thanked Newcastle.[3] But soon he recommenced his solicitations, as the new office was worth only half the pension he had previously enjoyed, and therefore required supplementing.

It is great concern to me [he wrote to Newcastle on June 11, 1759] to think that your Grace has not yet honoured me with my request, as it is above a month ago since your Grace flattered me it would be done the next day.

If I do not hear from Mr. Shelley this week I take for granted, I must conclude that your Grace is not willing to be troubled any more on my account; having done me the honour to raise my expectation I laid great stress and reliance upon it, which makes the disappointment more than otherwise it would be.[4]

A fortnight later he is found writing again. "I take the liberty of mentioning that my banker is Mr. Campbell in the Strand".[5] And once more on September 5, in anticipation of the reassembling of Parliament—"this is the time it will be of the greatest service to me. . . ."[6]

It was not till January 25, 1760, that Whitworth received £150, "three quarters at the rate of 200£ pr.

[1] Letter of March 1, 1758; Add. MSS. 32878, f. 81.
[2] Add. MSS. 32882, f. 56.
[3] *Ibid.* f. 239.
[4] Add. MSS. 32892, f. 3.
[5] *Ibid.* f. 221.
[6] Add. MSS. 32898, f. 114.

ann., in order to make up his Government 400£ pr. ann. ",[1] this payment covering the time from Midsummer 1758 till Lady Day 1759 ; and on March 21, 1760, £150 were remitted to him through Shelley, covering the time up to the end of 1759.[2] Thus at the death of George II the arrears on his pension amounted to another £150.[3] Curiously enough, this money seems never to have been paid, nor does his pension seem to have been continued under George III.

In conclusion, it must be added, as some excuse for Whitworth's importunities, that he had nine children. And he seems to have been fond of children: he was Treasurer of the Foundlings' Hospital, and left the Hospital a fund to provide cakes for the children on New Year's Day.

[1] See p. 556.

[2] Besides p. 557, see Add. MSS. 33039, f. 362.

[3] See Add. MSS. 33040, f. 23, " List of Members of Parliament who received private pensions with the arrears due to Michaelmas last 1760 ".

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

THE SECRET SERVICE ACCOUNTS OF THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE

Secret Service Accounts, March 21, 1754–November 9, 1756

(Add. MSS. 33044, ff. 18-26)

[These accounts are in the handwriting of John Roberts. Originally, as a rule, only initials were given; most blanks were filled in subsequently, and sometimes the full name was written once more at the end of the entry. Many names remain, however, incomplete, but can be identified with the help of later accounts and of other papers dealing with the subject. The book as it stands is a mass of scribbled notes, and there would be no point in reproducing their confusion; it seems preferable to render clearly their contents and sense.

The respectful and picturesque blank opposite the quarterly entries of £1050, which stands for the Duke of Newcastle's own "additional salary", is, however, preserved.

No explanatory notes are given here for expenditure on elections and constituencies, as the subject is dealt with in the chapter on "The General Elections of 1754 and 1761, and the Nursing of Constituencies", which should be read as a commentary on these entries.]

1754.		£	s.	d.
March 21st.	Mr. Dodd for Reading . . .	300	0	0
25th.	Mr. Medlycott [1] . . .	500	0	0
26th.	Mr. Talbot's election at Ilchester .	800	0	0
28th.	Mr. Bayntun Rolt for Chippenham .	800	0	0
29th.	Yonge for Honiton . . .	500	0	0
April 1st.	Mr. Clevland for Barnstaple . .	1000	0	0
	Mr. T. Leslie [2]	300	0	0

[1] About him see pp. 494-8.

[2] For his election expenses in Perth Burghs.

1754.		£	s.	d.
April 2d.	Mr. Trist for Totnes . . .	200	0	0
	Sempil [1]	50	0	0
3d.	Mr. Stewart of Castle Stewart [2] .	200	0	0
	Capt. Mackay [3] . . .	300	0	0
4th.	Lord Macclesfield [4] . . .	2000	0	0
	Mr. Charlton, Chairman of Committees [5]	500	0	0
	Col. Mordaunt [6] . . .	200	0	0
5th.	Lord Home [7]	200	0	0
	Mr. Hitch Young for Steyning . .	1000	0	0
	Mr. Whitworth for Minehead . .	1000	0	0
	Mr. Martin for Camelford . .	170	0	0
	Mr. Sewell for Wallingford . .	780	0	0
	Lord Archer for Bramber . .	1000	0	0
	Lord Saye and Sele. 1/2 [8] . .	300	0	0

[1] In full: John Gordon of Sempill; an old anti-Jacobite spy, whose reports, preserved among the Newcastle Papers, supply a good illustration of what nonsense will be paid for in the "secret service" provided it comes from men of admittedly low character.

[2] William Stewart, descended from the third son of James, 2nd Earl of Galloway. His father, William Stewart, had sat in Parliament, 1713–41, had been secretary to George II when Prince of Wales, and subsequently Paymaster of Pensions. The William Stewart here mentioned never sat in Parliament; in 1754 he was appointed King's Remembrancer in Scotland and his pension stopped. He died in 1768.

[3] George Mackay, of Strathmore, M.P. for co. Sutherland, 1747–1761; the pension stopped when he was appointed Master of the Mint in Scotland in 1756.

[4] For the Oxfordshire election.

[5] See pp. 282-3.

[6] Col. John Mordaunt, M.P., brother of Charles, 4th Earl of Peterborough; he must not be confused with his cousin, General Sir John Mordaunt, M.P., who commanded the expedition against Rochefort in 1757. Col. Mordaunt died on July 1, 1767.

[7] William, 8th Earl of Home; entered army, 1735; served with distinction in the rebellion of 1745; colonel, 1752; April 16, 1757, appointed Governor of Gibraltar, where he died, April 28, 1761. Succeeded to the peerage, 1720; Scottish Representative Peer, 1741–61; "took no active part in politics" (see note by Mr. V. Gibbs in *The Complete Peerage*). His pension was obviously in lieu of office, and stopped on his appointment to Gibraltar.

[8] See pp. 221-3.

1754.			£	s.	d.
April	9th.	Sir Duncan Campbell [1]	400	0	0
		Lord Falmouth [2]	1455	0	0
		Lord Edgcumbe and Mr. Andrews [3]	700	0	0
	10th.	Duke of Argyle for Scotland	1000	0	0
	11th.	Mr. Dodd for Reading	200	0	0
		Sir Jacob Downing for Dunwich	500	0	0
		Lord Willoughby of Parham [4]	200	0	0
	12th.	Mr. Dodd for Reading	400	0	0
	18th.	Lord Leven [5]	500	0	0
	23rd.	Ld. Ilchester for Shaftesbury	330	0	0
	25th.	Mr. Soame Jenyns [6]	600	0	0
		Pickle [7]	100	0	0
	26th.	Mr. Hamilton, the Duke's [8] relation	100	0	0
May	2d.	Mr. Phillipson for Mr. Bristowe for Shoreham	1000	0	0

[1] Sir Duncan Campbell, of Lochnell, Knt.; M.P. for Argyllshire, 1747–54. He was replaced in his constituency and pension by his nephew, Col. Dugall Campbell of Ballimore, M.P. for Argyllshire, 1754–1764; see under May 14, 1755, p. 530.

[2] For John Fuller's election at Tregony.

[3] For Grampound.

[4] See p. 278.

[5] Alexander (Leslie), 7th Earl of Leven (1699–1754); one of the Lords of Session, 1734; High Commiss. to the Gen. Assembly, 1747–1754; one of the Lords of Police, 1754; Repres. Peer, 1747–54. Died Sept. 2, 1754.

[6] S. Jenyns (1704–87), M.P. for Cambridgeshire, 1741–54, for Dunwich, 1754–58, and for Cambridge Town, 1758–80. A Lord of Trade and Plantations, December 1755–September 1780; on his appointment to that office his pension stopped. He was a friend of the Yorkes; for his correspondence with Philip, 2nd Earl of Hardwicke, see Add. MSS. 35631. It is probably to them that he owed his pension; possibly it was given to him as a compensation for being displaced from the representation of Cambridgeshire to secure a compromise between Lord Royston and Lord Granby—but it may have been older. His works were published in 1790, in four volumes, by C. N. Cole.

[7] Alexander Pickle, an anti-Jacobite spy; I am not certain whether "Pickle" was his real name or a *nom de guerre.*

[8] James Hamilton. He wrote to Newcastle on May 11, 1756 (Add. MSS. 32864, f. 526): "Duke Hamilton some years ago recommended me to the late Mr. Pelham for one of His Majesty's Consulships in the

1754.			£	s.	d.
May	2d.	Sir C. Powlett [1] . . .	500	0	0
	3d.	Lord Warwick.[2] 1/2 . . .	250	0	0
		Justice Fielding [3] 1/2 to Lady Day .	200	0	0
		Mr. Carmichael [4] 1/2 . . .	200	0	0
	7th.	Mr. Ralph [5] 1/2 to Lady Day .	150	0	0
	8th.	Alderman Porter for Evesham . .	1000	0	0
	14th.	Mr. Jenison [6]	700	0	0
	21st.	Mr. Southard [7] for Totnes . .	140	0	0

Mediteranean as I had been long in these parts, and had been used to the sea mercantile service, or . . . to some place either in the Customs or Excise . . . which he not only promised . . . but as a proof of his sincerity, procured me an annuity of 200 pounds yearly till that happened . . .; your Grace's kind continuation of these favours . . . makes me flatter my self your Grace will soon think of me . . ." See also p. 285.

[1] Charles Powlett (1718–65), nephew of the 3rd Duke of Bolton, whom his father succeeded in 1754, whereupon C. Powlett became Marquess of Winchester; 5th Duke of Bolton, 1759. Served in the army; Lieutenant of the Tower of London, 1754–60.

[2] Edward (Rich), 8th and last Earl of Warwick of that creation (1695–1759); in 1721 he succeeded to the title, but to none of the family estates; he did not play any part in politics.

[3] John Fielding, the well-known London magistrate, half-brother of Henry Fielding; see *D.N.B.*

[4] Presumably James Carmichael, 3rd son of James, 2nd Earl of Hyndford, M.P. for Linlithgow Burgh, 1734–41 and 1748–54. He was not returned again at the general election of 1754, and died the same year. He appears the last time in these accounts on March 27, 1755, but these may be arrears paid to his executors.

[5] James Ralph (1705–1762), political writer and historian, of low character but able, had served various masters, since 1753 in receipt of a pension of £300 p.a. See *D.N.B.*, where he is very fully dealt with.

[6] Presumably payment for Ralph Jenison's election at Newport, I. o. W.; see pp. 160-61.

[7] A cider merchant who acted as one of Newcastle's election agents at Totnes. His begging letters to the Duke are usually short and amusing. Here is one of June 13, 1758 (Add. MSS. 32880, f. 435): "May it please your Grace, The fruits of thirty-six years service to his Majesty's friends—hath given me a violent gout—I realy wish it had been somthing elce."

1754.			£	s.	d.
May	22nd.	Mr. Talbot for Ilchester . .	200	0	0
	28th.	Col. Pelham [1]	500	0	0
	30th.	Earl of Warrington [2] 1/2 to Michaelmas 1753	750	0	0
June	1st.	Earl of Radnor.[3] One year . .	800	0	0
		Mr. C. Hanbury's dissenting minister [4] .	100	0	0
	4th.	Lord Dudley [5]	600	0	0
		Mr. Henry Fox for Speaker's List [6] .	360	0	0
	6th.	Lord Raymond [7] . . .	800	0	0
		Sir J. Downing's man.[8] 1/2 . .	100	0	0

[1] Colonel James Pelham of Catsfield Place, Sussex (died 1761), M.P. for Newark, 1722–41, and for Hastings, 1741–61; he was a distant cousin of the Duke of Newcastle, held for many years the place of Secretary to the Lord Chamberlain of the Royal Household, and had at all times to be at the service of Newcastle. When during the divisions on the St. Michael election, in 1755, Colonel Pelham failed to obey Newcastle's orders, the usual cordial address of "Dear Jemmy" changed into a formal "Sir" with advice to quit his seat in Parliament so that the Duke might choose one upon whom he could entirely depend; see the series of letters from Newcastle to Pelham, Add. MSS. 32853, ff. 23-27; note, however, that the sequence of these letters in the volume has been inverted and f. 27 should be read first, f. 25 next, and f. 23 last.

[2] George (Booth), 2nd and last Earl of Warrington (1675–1758).

[3] John (Robartes), 4th and last Earl of Radnor of that creation (1686–1757); succeeded to the title in 1741 on the death of his cousin, whilst the estates devolved on the nephews of the 3rd Earl, George Hunt, M.P., and Thomas Hunt.

[4] Capel Hanbury (1707–1765), M.P. for Leominster, 1741–47, and for Monmouthshire, 1747–65. He sympathised with the Dissenters, though not one himself. See A. A. Locke, *The Hanbury Family*, vol. i. pp. 161-9.

[5] Ferdinando, 11th and last Lord Dudley (1710–1757); succeeded his uncle in 1740 in the title, whilst the Barony of Ward, together with the castle and lands of Dudley, devolved on John Ward, 6th Lord Ward.

[6] For the Speaker's List, see p. 286.

[7] Robert (Raymond), 2nd and last Lord Raymond, s. and h. of Chief Justice Raymond. Born about 1717, died September 19, 1756. Took no part in politics.

[8] I have failed to identify him.

1754.		£	s.	d.
June 7th.	Lord Ilchester [1] . . .	400	0	0
11th.	Mr. Charlton for Newark . .	1000	0	0
19th.	Fitzgerald [2]	20	0	0
20th.	Dr. Hepburn of Lynn . .	100	0	0
	Mr. Guthrie [3] 1/2 . . .	100	0	0
	Mr. Neale.[4] One year . . .	500	0	0
July 2nd.	[5]	1050	0	0
4th.	Mr. Ashburnham [6] . . .	100	0	0
10th.	Baron Münchhausen [7] 1/2 . .	500	0	0
	Lord Halifax 1/2 . . .	750	0	0
11th.	Lord Peterborough [8] 1/2 . .	200	0	0
	Mr. Brereton Salusbury [9] . .	500	0	0
	Mr. Leveson-Gower's friend [10] . .	150	0	0
	Ld. Kinnoull [11] 1/2 . . .	400	0	0

[1] The elder brother of Henry Fox; about his "additional salary", see p. 283.

[2] J. Fitzgerald; I believe he was a spy.

[3] William Guthrie (1708–1770), political writer and historian; had a pension of £200 p.a. since 1745. See *D.N.B.*; also Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes*, vol. 8, p. 241, where he is well described by Charles Godwyn: "He is a florid writer. . . . What his religion is I know not. He writes for his bread."

[4] Presumably Robert Neale, of Corsham, M.P. for Wootton Basset, 1741–54. See his letter to Newcastle, February 15, 1755, in which he ascribes the loss of his seat, interest and £1800, to having obeyed H. Pelham's orders and tried to carry both seats (Add. MSS. 32852, f. 481).

[5] A quarterly instalment of the additional salary of the Duke of Newcastle; see pp. 280-82.

[6] Possibly William Ashburnham, Dean of Chichester, who in 1736 had married Margaret Pelham, a cousin of the Duke of Newcastle. In 1754 he became Bishop of Chichester, which would account for this being the last payment of the pension to him.

[7] Hanoverian Resident in London; about his pension, see p. 289.

[8] Charles (Mordaunt), 4th Earl of Peterborough (1710–79).

[9] Thomas Brereton Salusbury, M.P. for Liverpool, 1724–56; Mayor in 1732. Died March 9, 1756. "Mr. Salisbury receives 500£ a year in lieu of his office" (Add. MSS. 32995, f. 121; see also f. 186).

[10] I have failed to identify him. William Leveson-Gower sat for Staffordshire from 1720 till his death in 1756.

[11] George Henry, 8th Earl of Kinnoull (1689–1758).

1754			£	s.	d.
July	11th.	Ld. Montfort for Cambridge . .	550	0	0
		The Duke of Marlborough for Lord Macclesfield for Oxfordshire . .	1000	0	0
	12th.	Mr. Carmichael . . .	200	0	0
	18th.	Mr. Schutz [1] 1/2 . . .	200	0	0
	25th.	Col. Cornwallis and Sir John Crosse for Westminster . . .	1800	0	0
		Pickle	200	0	0
		Carey [2]	100	0	0
		Gordon's transcriber [3] . . .	50	0	0
		Sempill	20	0	0
		Mr. Harrison [4]	500	0	0
Aug.		Ld. D—more (?) [5] . . .	100	0	0
		Mr. Maxwell for Taunton . .	500	0	0
Oct.	3d.	Mrs. Cannon [6]	100	0	0

[1] George Schutz, son of Augustus Schutz (who had accompanied George II from Hanover and had been his Master of the Robes and Keeper of the Privy Purse; he died in 1757). George Schutz owned the estate of Shotover, near Oxford. On September 22, 1754, he married "Miss Dorothea Repp, 20,000*l*." (*Gent. Mag.*, p. 483). He was Ranger of Richmond Park, but was displaced on the accession of George III.

[2] Probably Walter Carey, M.P. for Helston, 1722–27, and for Dartmouth from 1727 till his death in 1757.

[3] A Mr. Smith; judging by the reports, Gordon had "the gout" in his head, and the transcriber in his hand.

[4] George Harrison, M.P. for Hertford, 1727–34, and from 1741 till his death on December 4, 1759. The identification is confirmed by Add. MSS. 32997, f. 64.

[5] In the above entry the name is not properly filled in, but both here and under date of July 30, 1755, it seems to read "Lord Dromore". There was, however, no such title in 1755. The nearest to it is "Dunmore", but even this does not fit the facts. William, 3rd Earl of Dunmore, died on December 1, 1756, whilst the payment of July 30, 1755, is to the "executors" of the recipient. This Lord Dunmore had joined the Pretender in 1745 and been condemned for high treason. He was pardoned, and lived confined to the city of Lincoln, where he died.

[6] Most probably "Mrs. Cannon, midwife to the royal family", whose death is noted in the *Gentleman's Magazine* under December 11,

1754.			£	s.	d.
Oct.	3d.	Fitzgerald	20	0	0
		Lutheran clergyman	20	0	0
	16th.	Col. Mordaunt	100	0	0
			1050	0	0
		Mr. Maxwell for Taunton	500	0	0
	17th.	Ld. Kinnoull 1/4	200	0	0
		Mr. Thorpe of Hastings.[1] One year	100	0	0
	24th.	Mr. Ralph 1/2 to Michaelmas	150	0	0
		Gordon	20	0	0
	26th.	Earl of Warrington 1/2 to Lady Day, 1754	750	0	0
		Mr. Maxwell for Taunton	1000	0	0
	28th.	Mr. Hunter[2] for Col. Mordaunt to Michaelmas	300	0	0
Dec.	4th.	Mr. Hamilton, the Duke's relation	100	0	0
	5th.	Marquis of Winchester[3]	500	0	0
	6th.	Ld. Warwick 1/2 Michaelmas	250	0	0
		Mr. Martin for Camelford	570	0	0
	10th.	Sir Jacob Downing's man 1/2	100	0	0
	20th.	Mr. Macdonald[4]	100	0	0

1754. She appears once more in these accounts under October 15, 1755, but that may have been a payment of arrears to her heirs. Her executor and residuary legatee was the father of the famous Arthur Young (see his *Autobiography*, pp. 10-13). "By her will all her furniture and a great collection of medals, bronzes, shells, curiosities, books on natural history, etc., with money in the funds, came into his possession to the amount of five thousand pounds." Young describes her as "a lady highly respected and well known as midwife to the Princess of Wales", and mentions letters to her from Mr. Popple, Governor of Bermuda, asking her to help him to a better government or some employment at home.

[1] I have failed to find anything about him.

[2] T. O. Hunter, M.P. for Winchelsea, 1741–59 and 1760–69; Col. Mordaunt had sat, as his colleague, for Winchelsea, 1747–54.

[3] See Sir C. Powlett under May 2, 1754. The pension was now discontinued.

[4] Allan Macdonald, an anti-Jacobite agent on "the Highland service"; see his letter to H. V. Jones, Newcastle's private secretary, October 1, 1755 (Add. MSS. 32859, f. 299), and to Newcastle, October 4, 1755 (*ibid.* f. 382).

			£	s.	d.
1754.					
Dec.	20th.	Mr. Ellis for Bryer of Weymouth [1] .	100	0	0
		Lord Radnor 1/2 Michaelmas . .	400	0	0
		Orford [2]	200	0	0
		Gordon	20	0	0
1755.					
Jan.	8th.	Mr. Dodd for Reading . . .	100	0	0
		Guthrie 1/2	100	0	0
		Fitzgerald	20	0	0
		. . . .	1050	0	0
	10th.	Sir W. Middleton.[3] One year to Lady Day	800	0	0
		Col. Mordaunt	50	0	0
		Duke of Grafton for Sir H. Bedingfeld.[4] One year	500	0	0
	14th.	Ld. Peterborough 1/2 . .	200	0	0
	18th.	Ld. Kinnoull 1/4 . . .	200	0	0
		Sir G. L.[5] for Mr. Bower . .	200	0	0
	22nd.	Baron Münchhausen 1/2 to Xmas .	500	0	0
	23rd.	Col. Pelham. One year to Xmas .	500	0	0
		Fitzgerald [6]	20	0	0
	28th.	Ld. Halifax 1/2 to Xmas . .	750	0	0

[1] Welbore Ellis, M.P. for Weymouth (see *D.N.B.*); I have failed to find anything about Mr. Bryer. [2] See pp. 471-85.

[3] Sir William Middleton, 3rd bart. (1700–1757), M.P. for Northumberland, 1722–57.

[4] Sir Henry Arundell Bedingfeld, 3rd bart. (died in 1760). He married, 1719, Lady Elizabeth Boyle, eldest daughter of Charles, 2nd Earl of Burlington; her niece, Lady Dorothy Boyle, married in 1741 Lord Euston, eldest surviving son of Charles, 2nd Duke of Grafton, which may account for the connexion between them.

[5] Possibly Sir George Lee, M.P. Mr. Bower unidentified.

[6] On January 15, Fitzgerald had written to Newcastle: "Permit me . . . to . . . beseech you not to leave imperfect the prospect of happiness you gave me, but please to extricate me thoroughly from the many evils, former debts and misfortunes have involved me. . . . A summe not less than fourty pounds, to me the Indies, to your Grace a trifle, will make me I hope for ever happy" (Add. MSS. 32852, f. 178). In reply to this appeal he received the above £20; on March 18, 10 guineas were given "to bury Fitzgerald" (see below).

1755.		£	s.	d.
Jan. 31st.	Mr. Carey	100	0	0
Feb. 5th.	Mr. Maxwell for Taunton . .	1500	0	0
10th.	Ld. Hartington for Mr. Rivett[1] 1/2 to Xmas	150	0	0
	Mr. Schutz 1/2 . . .	200	0	0
11th.	Mr. Allen by the Speaker[2] 1/2 .	100	0	0
13th.	Col. Mordaunt by Mr. Hunter 1/2 to Xmas	150	0	0
25th.	Mr. Chas. Whitworth 1/2[3] . .	200	0	0
March 7th.	Ld. Saye and Sele 1/2 . .	300	0	0
	Ld. Peterborough 1/4 to Lady Day .	100	0	0
	Ld. Home. One year . . .	200	0	0
11th.	Mr. Andrews for Old Sarum . .	100	0	0
	Gordon	20	0	0
18th.	To bury Fitzgerald . . .	10	10	0
27th.	Lutheran Minister's widow . .	20	0	0
	Mr. Hewit.[4] One year . .	400	0	0
	Mr. Carmichael. One year . .	300	0	0
	Ld. Willoughby of Parham. One year	400	0	0
April 8th.	. . . . .	1050	0	0

[1] Thomas Rivett, M.P. for Derby, 1748–54. Horace Walpole wrote to H. Mann, on December 26, 1748: "The families of Devonshire and Chesterfield have received a great blow at Derby, where, on the death of John Stanhope, they set up another of the name. One Mr. Rivett, the Duke's chief friend and manager, stood himself and carried it by a majority of seventy-one" (Rivett, 382, Thomas Stanhope, 311). Rivett now obtained his pension through Lord Hartington as a reward for not standing again. In a memorandum of Newcastle's, of March 21, 1754 (Add. MSS. 32995, f. 115) appears the following entry: "Derby. The D. of D[evonshire] is inclined to bring in Mr. Vernon of Sudbury—Mr. Rivett, the present Member was to have a place in some of the inferior Commissions, and in the meantime 300£ a year." See also *ibid.* f. 186. In the *Gent. Mag.* for 1749 (p. 236) Rivett's marriage is noted with "the celebrated Miss Sibley". He died on April 6, 1763.

[2] A nephew of Speaker Onslow.

[3] About him see pp. 508-15.

[4] Unidentified. In Newcastle's list for Rockingham of persons recommended for pensions (October 12, 1765; Add. MSS. 32970, f. 296), the note is put against his name: "commonly called Count Hewett".

1755.			£	s.	d.
April	9th.	Ld. Kinnoull 1/4	200	0	0
	12th.	Mr. Burrowes, Beadle of Cambridge [1]	100	0	0
	16th.	Mr. Rice for Radnorshire	173	0	0
	22nd.	Sir F. Poole.[2] One year	300	0	0
		Captain Mackay. One year	300	0	0
		Mr. Medlycott	600	0	0
		Col. Mordaunt 1/4 to Lady Day	200	0	0
		Ld. Ilchester. One year	400	0	0
	24th.	Baron Münchhausen. 1/2	500	0	0
		Earl of Warrington. 1/2 to Michaelmas	750	0	0
		Mr. Salusbury. One year	500	0	0
		Sir H. Bedingfeld	500	0	0
		Sir W. Middleton	800	0	0
		Orford. Rent to Midsummer last	100	0	0
		Gordon's transcriber	50	0	0
	28th.	Mr. Buller.[3] One year	200	0	0
		Mr. Till.[4] One year	80	0	0
May	7th.	Lord Raymond	800	0	0
		Mr. C. Hanbury for Minister	100	0	0
		Mr. S. Jenyns	600	0	0
		Mr. Charlton, Chairman of Committees	500	0	0
		Ld. Warwick 1/2	250	0	0
		Mr. Andrews for Okehampton	180	0	0
		Mr. Hamilton, D's R. 1/2	100	0	0
	8th.	Mr. Lane.[5] Chairman. One year	200	0	0
		Lord Morton's Lords [6]	250	0	0

[1] Thomas Burrowes (1705–67), M.A., esquire-beadle to the University of Cambridge, 1734–67.

[2] Sir Francis Poole, 2nd Bart. (1683–1763), M.P. for Lewes, 1743–63; his wife was Frances Pelham, a first cousin of Newcastle.

[3] John Buller (1721–86), M.P. for East Looe, 1747–86; see pp. 399-400.

[4] John Till, of the Customhouse, Chichester. He wrote to Newcastle, on September 23, 1757: "I intend doing my self the honour of attending your Grace . . . to entreat the continuance of the goodness you have shewn me (ever since the late Mr. Pelham's death). . .". (Add. MSS. 32874, f. 252.)

[5] Thomas Lane, Chairman of Middlesex Sessions.

[6] Lords Borthwick and Kirkcudbright, each £50, and Lord Rutherfurd, £150 p.a.—Henry, 15th Lord Borthwick, was the 11th in possession

1755.			£	s.	d.
May	8th.	Mr. Ralph 1/2 . . .	150	0	0
	14th.	Mr. Neale. Last payment . .	500	0	0
		Mr. Dugall Campbell,[1] Sir Duncan's nephew	400	0	0
		Sir W. Irby for money advanced to Mr. Thomas Pitt [2] . . .	1000	0	0
		Dr. Hepburn	100	0	0
		Lord Radnor 1/2 to Lady Day .	400	0	0
		Pickle [3]	200	0	0
June	4th.	Mr. G. Harrison. One year [4] . .	500	0	0
		Sir J. Downing's man. 1/2 . .	100	0	0
	11th.	Lord Dudley. One year . .	600	0	0
	18th.	Ld. Dupplin for Cambridge. One year	550	0	0
		Mr. C. Whitworth . . .	200	0	0
		Mr. Hewit 1/2 . . .	200	0	0
		Mr. Rivett 1/2 . . .	150	0	0
	25th.	Gordon	20	0	0

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of the dignity, as some of his predecessors considered that "a title without a suitable fortune was not eligible" (see Douglas-Paul, *Scots Peerage*). William Maclellan, 6th Lord Kirkcudbright, "was in poor circumstances, and followed the occupation of a glover in Edinburgh" (see *ibid.*). George Durie claimed the title of Rutherfurd, but never incontestably established the claim.

[1] Col. Dugall Campbell, M.P. for Argyllshire, 1754–64; for his uncle, Sir Duncan Campbell, see under April 9, 1754.

[2] A complicated transaction arising from earlier debts and commitments of Thomas Pitt, the owner of Old Sarum, who had handed over the nomination for this so-called borough to the Government; the claim arose on the election of Sir William Calvert, March 18, 1755; see letter from Sir W. Irby, March 19, 1755; Add. MSS. 32853, ff. 378-9.

[3] In a letter to Newcastle, on April 4, 1755, "Pickle" states that whilst engaged on his work, he had contracted £800 of debt; "he . . . hopes that he be off hand enabled to pay off this triffile" and that until ampler compensation is given him "he may relay upon somthing handsome, which he can yearly and regularly relay upon beeing payd him at a fixt time" (Add. MSS. 33050, f. 422).

[4] Further payments were, it seems, intended, but were never made; see paper of July 20, 1757; Add. MSS. 32997, ff. 237 and 330.

1755.			£	s.	d.
July	2d.	Mr. A. Acourt.[1] Two years to Midsummer	1000	0	0
		Col. Mordaunt 1/4 . . .	200	0	0
	3d.	Speaker's List to Midsummer. 100 for Bodens [2]	560	0	0
NB.	9th.	Ld. Peterborough 1/4 . .	100	0	0
		Guthrie 1/2	100	0	0
		. . . . .	1050	0	0
		Lord Halifax 1/2 . . .	750	0	0
		Mr. Carey	100	0	0
	23rd.	Mr. Manly of Taunton [3] . .	70	0	0
		Mr. Maxwell for Taunton . .	500	0	0
		Lord Kinnoull 1/4 . . .	200	0	0
		Mr. W. Leveson's friend. One year .	150	0	0
	30th.	Lord Dromore's (?) executors . .	100	0	0
		Mr. Schutz 1/2 . . .	200	0	0
		Mr. Burrowes. Beadle of Cambridge. 1/4	25	0	0
Aug.	20th.	Gordon	20	0	0
		Mr. Shelvoke [4] for Harwich . .	300	0	0
	27th.	Mr. Andrews for Okehampton . .	100	0	0
		Mr. Bower. 1/2 to Midsummer .	100	0	0
Sept.	15th.	Orford Rent. 1/2 to Xmas . .	100	0	0
Oct.	15th.	. . . . .	1050	0	0
		Mrs. Cannon	100	0	0
	17th.	Ld. Peterborough. 1/4 to Michaelmas	100	0	0
	23rd.	Ld. Kinnoull 1/4 . . .	200	0	0
		Mr. Hamilton, the Duke's relation 1/2	100	0	0

[1] Pierce Ashe A'Court (1707–68), M.P. for Heytesbury, his pocket borough, 1734–68. Both he and his brother, General A'Court, voted against the Peace Treaty of 1763, and against General Warrants.

[2] Presumably "Old Bodens", a friend and dependent of Newcastle.

[3] Mayor of Taunton and Newcastle's election agent.

[4] The name is marked S——ck, and the blank is not filled in even in the list of "Disbursements for Parliament" compiled for Newcastle previous to the general election of 1761 (Add. MSS. 32999, ff. 34-5). But the identity of the recipient is proved by Roberts's paper of July 17, 1758 (Add. MSS. 32881, f. 317). Shelvoke (or Shelvock) was Secretary to the Post Office.

1755.			£	s.	d.
Oct.	24th.	Dr. Thorpe of Hastings. One year to Michaelmas	100	0	0
		Gordon	20	0	0
Nov.	5th.	E. of Warwick 1/2 . . .	250	0	0
		Mr. Ralph. 1/2 . . .	150	0	0
	14th.	E. of Radnor. 1/2 to Michaelmas .	400	0	0
		Mr. Dodd for Reading . . .	500	0	0
		Col. Mordaunt. 1/4 . . .	200	0	0
	24th.	E. of Warrington. 1/2 to Lady Day .	750	0	0
	25th.	Sir J. Downing's man. 1/2 to Michaelmas	100	0	0
		Mr. Hewit. 1/2 to Michaelmas .	200	0	0
		Mr. Rivett. 1/2 . . .	150	0	0
Dec.	12th.	Mr. Whitworth. 1/2 . . .	200	0	0
	13th.	Guthrie. 1/2 to Xmas . .	100	0	0
		Gordon	20	0	0
	19th.	Ld. Saye and Sele. One year . .	600	0	0
1756.					
Jan.	1st.	Col. Pelham. One year . .	500	0	0
	7th.	Ld. Kinnoull. 1/4 . . .	200	0	0
		Mr. Burrowes, Beadle of Cambridge. 1/4	25	0	0
		. . . . .	1050	0	0
	14th.	Mr. Schutz. 1/2 . . .	200	0	0
		Ld. Peterborough . . .	100	0	0
		B. Münchhausen 1/2 . .	500	0	0
	15th.	E. of Halifax. 1/2 to Xmas . .	750	0	0
	22nd.	Col. Mordaunt. 1/4 to Xmas . .	200	0	0
		Orford Rent. 1/2 . . .	100	0	0
Feb.	12th.	Mr. Michel. Prussian Minister [1] .	500	0	0
	13th.	Mr. Robert Colebrooke.[2] 1/2 . .	300	0	0
		Mr. Allen. 1/2. Speaker's List .	100	0	0

[1] The Prussian Minister in London.

[2] Robert Colebrooke (1718–84), of Chilham Castle, Kent, elder brother of Sir James Colebrooke, 1st Bart., M.P., and Sir George Colebrooke, 2nd Bart., M.P., both merchants and Government contractors. Robert Colebrooke was M.P. for Maldon, in Essex, from 1741 till defeated at the general election of 1761 ; Minister to the Swiss Cantons, 1762–64; Ambassador to Turkey, 1765.

1756.			£	s.	d.
Feb.	13th.	Justices. One year . . .	400	0	0
	17th.	Mr. Ellis for Bryer of Weymouth .	100	0	0
		Sir H. Bedingfeld. One year . .	500	0	0
	24th.	Mr. Nugent for Bristol . .	1000	0	0
March	2nd.	Gordon	20	0	0
	8th.	Mr. Nugent for Bristol . .	1000	0	0
	10th.	Mr. Colvile. One year . .	300	0	0
	11th.	Mr. R. Colebrooke. Remainder .	300	0	0
	19th.	Ld. Malpas [1]	300	0	0
	23rd.	Mr. G. Brudenell [2] . . .	300	0	0
April	2nd.	Mr. Fox for Hindon . . .	313	11	0
		Mr. Bower. 1/2 to Xmas . .	100	0	0
		Ld. Peterborough. 1/2 to Lady Day .	100	0	0
		Mr. Trist [3] for Totnes . . .	100	0	0
		Mr. Charlton, Chairman of Committees	500	0	0
		Mr. Maxwell for Taunton . .	675	0	0
	6th.	Mr. Whitworth. 1/2 to Lady Day .	200	0	0
		Mr. W. of R.[4] One year . .	60	0	0
		. . . . .	1050	0	0
	7th.	Dr. Hepburn. One year . .	100	0	0
	8th.	Ld. Willoughby of Parham. One year	400	0	0
	9th.	Sir F. Poole	300	0	0
	13th.	Col. Mordaunt. 1/4 to Lady Day .	200	0	0
		Captain Mackay . . .	300	0	0

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[1] George, Viscount Malpas (1724–64), eldest son of George, 3rd Earl of Cholmondeley, served at Fontenoy and in the rebellion of 1745; M.P. for Bramber, 1754–61, and for Corfe Castle, 1761–64. His father had a pension of £3700 p.a. on the Irish Establishment, £2500 of it for life and £1200 during pleasure (see Add. MSS. 32876, f. 17).

[2] George Bridges Brudenell (1725–1801), M.P. for Rutlandshire, December 1754–61, and 1768–90, for Stamford, 1761–68; on his father's side, nephew of George, 3rd Earl of Cardigan, through his mother, nephew of Bartholomew Burton, M.P. for Camelford, 1759–68, Governor of the Bank of England. Went with Newcastle into opposition and voted against General Warrants in 1764. He was a great friend of Lord Lincoln.

[3] Browse Trist (1698–17 ?) of Bowdon and Tristford, Devon; M.P. for Totnes, 1754–63, when he vacated his seat; Recorder of the borough.

[4] Unidentified.

1756.			£	s.	d.
April	13th.	Ld. Kinnoull. 1/4 . . .	200	0	0
	15th.	Mr. T. Leslie	500	0	0
		Gordon	20	0	0
		Orford Rent. 1/2 . . .	100	0	0
	28th.	Mr. Vere of Stoneveers.[1] One year .	400	0	0
	30th.	Mr. Hamilton. D. H's R. 1/2 to Lady Day	100	0	0
May	4th.	Lord Ilchester	400	0	0
	6th.	Lord Home	200	0	0
		Mr. Ralph. 1/2 . . .	150	0	0
		Gordon's Transcriber. One year .	50	0	0
	8th.	E. of Warwick. 1/2 . . .	250	0	0
	21st.	Mr. Burrowes, Beadle of Cambridge .	50	0	0
		Sir W. Middleton. One year . .	800	0	0
	27th.	Sir J. Downing's man. 1/2 . .	100	0	0
June	10th.	Mr. Buller. One year . . .	200	0	0
		Mr. Till of Chichester . . .	80	0	0
	Q.	Ld. Raymond	800	0	0
		Mr. Lane. One year . . .	200	0	0
		Ld. Malpas. 1/2 . . .	300	0	0
		Mr. Medlycott.[2] One year . .	600	0	0
		Mr. Hewit. 1/2 to Lady Day . .	200	0	0
		Mr. Rivett 1/2 . . .	150	0	0
	11th.	Mr. D. Campbell. One year . .	400	0	0
		Mr. Guthrie. 1/2 to Midsummer .	100	0	0
		Ld. Dupplin for Cambridge. One year	550	0	0
		Mr. A. Acourt. One year . .	500	0	0
		Speaker's List. One year . .	460	0	0
		Gordon	20	0	0
July	2d.	Col. Mordaunt 1/4 . . .	200	0	0
		E. of Warrington. 1/2 to Michaelmas .	750	0	0
		Ld. Peterborough. 1/4 . .	100	0	0
	6th.	. . . . .	1050	0	0
		Ld. Kinnoull 1/4 . . .	200	0	0
	7th.	E. of Halifax. 1/2 to Midsummer .	750	0	0
		Baron Münchhausen, to Midsummer .	500	0	0
	21st.	Mr. Schutz 1/2 . . .	200	0	0

[1] James Vere, of Stonebyres, M.P. for Lanarkshire 1754-9.

[2] See his letter of June 9 (Add. MSS. 32865, f. 243) and p. 495.

1756.			£	s.	d.
July	21st.	Mr. Jenyns [1] for Mr. Holmes . .	600	0	0
		Mr. Manly for Taunton . .	70	0	0
	23rd.	Ld. Warwick 1/4 to Midsummer .	125	0	0
Aug.	5th.	Ld. Morton's Lords. One year .	250	0	0
		Gordon	20	0	0
		Mr. Leveson's friend. One year .	150	0	0
	6th.	Mr. G. Brudenell. Remainder .	200	0	0
	12th.	Mr. Andrews for Okehampton . .	100	0	0
Sept.	3d.	Mr. Whitworth. 1/4 to Midsummer .	100	0	0
	23rd.	Ld. Dudley	600	0	0
Oct.	6th.	E. of Tankerville [2] . . .	500	0	0
		Mrs. Krahé. 1/2 [3] . . .	25	0	0
	7th.	E. of Peterborough. 1/4 . .	100	0	0
	13th.	E. of Radnor	400	0	0
		. . . . .	1050	0	0
	19th.	Col. Lentulers (?) . . .	500	0	0
		A snuff box	63	0	0
		Justices. One year at Michaelmas .	400	0	0
	26th.	Col. Mordaunt. 1/4 to Michaelmas .	200	0	0
		Gordon	20	0	0
		Orford. Rent and expenses . .	200	0	0
		Ld. Kinnoull. 1/4 to Michaelmas .	200	0	0
	27th.	Baron Münchhausen . . .	500	0	0
		E. of Warrington. 1/2 to Lady Day .	750	0	0
		E. of Warwick. 1/4 to Michaelmas .	125	0	0
		Mr. Ralph. 1/2 to Michaelmas .	150	0	0
	30th.	Mr. Hamilton, D's R. 1/2 to Michaelmas	100	0	0
		Mr. Whitworth. 1/4 to Michaelmas .	100	0	0

[1] Should be "Jenison"; Ralph Jenison, M.P. for Newport, I. o. W., acted as intermediary between Newcastle and Holmes.

[2] In Newcastle's "Mem^{s} for the King", September 12, 1756 (Add. MSS. 32867, ff. 290-91), appears the following entry:

Pensions agreed to.	Ld. Tankerville	£800 per ann.
Q. As to the commencement.	Ld. Montfort	800 per ann.
£400 if sufficient, private.	Mr. Watson of Berwick	500 ——
Not yet spoke of.	Mr. Thos. Fane	200 ——

[3] Catherine Margaretha Krahé, "an old servant of the late Queen Caroline" (see Add. MSS. 32970, f. 296).

1756			£	s.	d.
Oct.	30th.	Dr. Thorpe of Hastings . .	100	0	0
		Mr. Burrowes, Beadle of Cambridge .	50	0	0
		E. of Cork 1/2 [1] . . .	400	0	0
Nov.	2d.	Mr. T. Fane. One year [2] . .	200	0	0
		Mr. Bower. 1/2 to Michaelmas .	100	0	0
	4th.	Col. Pelham. One year . .	500	0	0
	6th.	Lady Trelawny to Mr. Gashry [3] .	100	0	0
	9th.	Marquis of Rockingham's friend [4] .	150	0	0
		Sir F. Poole	500	0	0
		Mr. Mallet [5] for his book . .	300	0	0

[1] John (Boyle), 5th Earl of Cork (1707–62), succeeded in 1753 his distant cousin, Richard, 4th Earl of Cork and 3rd Earl of Burlington, in his Irish honours, whilst "the Barony of Clifford . . . and the large estates of the Clifford and Boyle families" devolved on his cousin's daughter, Charlotte, Duchess of Devonshire. Lord Cork had literary ambitions; Samuel Johnson described him as "a feeble-minded man" whose "conversation was like his writings, neat and elegant, but without strength". Lord Macaulay rightly describes his book on Swift as "most contemptible trash" (MS. note in his copy, now at the British Museum).

[2] Thomas Fane (1700–71), a Bristol attorney, M.P. for the family borough of Lyme Regis from 1753 till 1762, when he became 8th Earl of Westmorland. The pension was promised when his brother, Francis Fane, left the Board of Trade, in December 1755; but he waived it in 1758 (see p. 535, footnote (2) under October 6, 1756, and p. 546 under July 1, 1758).

[3] The identity of the two, whose names in these accounts are marked with initials only, is established by Add. MSS. 32997, ff. 68, 70, and 74. About the payment see p. 254.

[4] Neither the name of this friend nor of the one who is added in these accounts under February 20, 1760, is ever given. But, when Newcastle was preparing to leave the Treasury, he inquired with Rockingham whether he or the Marchioness had "any jobs" he could do for them before he went out (May 14, 1762; Add. MSS. 32938, f. 261). Rockingham replied by sending in a list of "window-peepers" and "customers", and added (*ibid.* ff. 291-2): "What will become of poor Sir George Dalston's £200 pr. ann.?" Possibly, then, Sir George Dalston, 4th and last Bart., was one of these two friends.

[5] David Mallet (1701–65), poet and political writer, served in turn Frederick, Prince of Wales, Bolingbroke, Newcastle, and Bute (see *D.N.B.*). The book referred to above is his pamphlet against

1756.		£	s.	d.
Nov. 9th.	Mr. Cooke [1] to Mr. Gybbon and Mr. Watson	150	0	0
	Mr. Clevland for a clergyman [2] .	240	0	0
	Springer [3]	100	0	0
	Mr. Jones [4]	1359	14	6

Admiral Byng, *Observations on the 12th Article of War*; about it see P. C. Yorke, *Life of Lord Hardwicke*, vol. ii. pp. 350 and 353-4. In Add. MSS. 32997, f. 68, this payment appears as " Mr. Mallet for the expence of printing—300 ".

[1] Mr. Cooke, of Swifts, near Cranbrooke, Kent, who later on always appears as " Mr. Gybbon's friend " (Ph. Gybbon was M.P. for Rye, 1701–62). See Cooke's letter of thanks to Newcastle, November 17, 1756; Add. MSS. 32869, f. 80. He had been Sheriff of Kent in 1745; see Hasted, *Kent*, vol. i. p. xcviii. The Watson here mentioned is Lewis Watson, M.P. for Kent, subsequently 1st Lord Sondes.

[2] This item is expanded in Add. MSS. 32997, f. 70: " Mr. Clevland, paid for an election to a clergyman for two years, at £120 p.a.—£240 ". The election was probably that at Saltash in 1754, though it may also have been Barnstaple.

[3] Christopher Springer, a Swedish merchant, who in 1746 engaged " in the English and Russian interest ", was seized by the French party and condemned to life-long imprisonment; escaped after four and a half years to Russia; had to leave Russia as the French demanded his extradition, and escaped to England (see his Memorial to the Duke of Newcastle, n.d.; Add. MSS. 33055, f. 187). He states in it that he has recently received by the Duke's order £20, " which considering his circumstances has been of very little relief to your Memorialist who unless some certain provision is made for him must remain entirely destitute ". In Add. MSS. 32997, f. 68, the figure " 20 " first appears against his name, but is crossed out and " 100 " substituted.

[4] There is an undated memorandum by Newcastle, probably of November 3, 1756 (Add. MSS. 32997, f. 68), closing the accounts: " I have made up Your Majesty's private account, and shall have the honor to bring you the ballance due to Your Majesty which is £3699 14s. 6d.". On this follow, however, various recommendations; those allowed by the King (see ff. 68 and 74) are obviously the eight last entries of disbursements in these accounts (Col. Pelham on November 4, till Springer on the 9th), and they make a total of £2040, which would reduce the balance named above to £1659 : 14 : 6. But possibly the calculation was made on November 1 or 2, or at least without the two payments

Money received March 1754–*November* 1756

(Add. MSS. 33044, f. 27.)

1754.		£	s.	d.
March 19th.	Ballance	7,367	17	0
April 4th.	. . . . .	10,000	0	0
7th.	By Ld. Bath[1] . . .	1,000	0	0
11th.	. . . . .	5,000	0	0
24th.	Mr. Fox. Remainder from Malmesbury[2]	356	18	6
May 1st.	. . . . .	7,000	0	0
July 10th.	. . . . .	10,000	0	0
Nov. 26th.	. . . . .	10,000	0	0
1755.				
Feb. 1st.	. . . . .	10,000	0	0
May 8th.	. . . . .	10,000	0	0
July 11th.	. . . . .	6,000	0	0
Nov. 19th.	. . . . .	10,000	0	0

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of November 2 being deducted; for the entry "Mr. Thomas Fane—200" still appears in the first draft of the recommendations, though subsequently crossed out. Anyhow, the last entry in these accounts means that this was the balance left in John Roberts's hands, which he paid over to H. V. Jones, Newcastle's private secretary, and which Newcastle handed over to the King. But on my calculation the sum total of the money accounted for in this first book is short by £400 of the sum acknowledged as received by John Roberts.

[1] Refund of money paid for Lord Pulteney's seat at Old Sarum.

[2] There is in the Newcastle MSS. a paper on "Elections", drawn up on December 12, 1760 (Add. MSS. 32999, f. 119), in which a note seems to refer to that affair:

Malmesbury Mr. Fox	£1,000 given to elect Mr. Fox High Steward.
Ld. Kinnoul	*Q.* Whether the £1000 was the King's money. To speak to Mr. Fox about it. Mr. Fisher was chose, and Lord G. Bentinck was chose, at my recommendation. . . .

Brice Fisher and Lord George Bentinck were returned for Malmesbury at the general election of 1754, which seems to date also the other transaction.

1756.		£	s.	d.
March 2nd.	. . . . .	. 10,000	0	0
June 4th.	. . . . .	. 10,000	0	0
Sept. 22nd.	. . . . .	. 10,000	0	0
	Received in the whole	£116,724	15	6

Secret Service Accounts, July 15, 1757–October 25, 1760

With Accounts of the Arrears for this Period paid off under George III

[There are three copies of these accounts in Add. MSS. 33044 : the first copy, ff. 28-65, gives only payments made before George II died ; the second, ff. 67-106, adds the arrears of George II's reign, paid off under George III, and is the copy initialled by him ; the third, ff. 107-177, covers the same ground as the second.]

1757.		£
July 20th.	To Lord Halifax, 1/2 a year at Midsummer last	750
	To the Earl of Tankerville, 1/2 a year .	400
	To Mr. Manly, the Mayor of Taunton, as usual, one year	70
	To Mr. Schutz, 1/2 a year . . .	200
	To Col. Mordaunt, one quarter . .	200
21st.	To the Earl of Warwick, one quarter . .	125
22d.	To the Earl of Peterborough, half a year .	200
	NB.—My Ld. Peterborough acquainted me that the Duke of Devonshire had not paid him the Lady Day quarter	
	To Mr. Scott[1]—one quarter . . .	125

[1] Presumably George Lewis Scott (1708–70), late preceptor to the Prince of Wales (George III). The last instalment of this pension appears on January 19, 1758, " one quarter to Christmas ", Scott being appointed in February a Commissioner of the Excise (£1000 p.a.), which office he retained till his death in 1780. About this appointment, demanded in a peremptory way by the Prince and Lord Bute—the Prince " thinking derogatory to his dignity, to suffer a person to remain unprovided for, who once had the honour of being concerned in his education "—see Add. MSS. 32877, ff. 350, 382-3, and 408-9. See also about Scott, *D.N.B.*

1757.			£
July	22d.	To Mr. Holmes, one year, by Mr. Jenison for the three Isle of Wight boroughs	600
		To Mr. Andrews—one year for Okehampton	100
	28th.	To Lord Kinnoull, one quarter	200
	29th.	To Lord Rutherfurd, one year	150
		Gordon, two months	20
		To Mr. Capel Hanbury, for two years, for the Dissenting Ministers in Monmouthshire, as usual	200
Aug.	5th.	The Speaker's List	460
		To Mr. Charles Hamilton.[1] Half a year of a pension of 1200£ given him by Your Majesty as the Duke of Devonshire informs me	600
Sept.	2d.	To Mrs. Krahé. 1/2 a year due at Lady Day	25
	9th.	Lord Morton's two friends.[2] A year at Midsummer. 50£ each	100
	13th.	To Mr. Thorpe's executors at Hastings due at Lady Day. 1/2 a year	50
	30th.	To Mr. Justice Fielding—1/2 a year due at Michaelmas	200
		Mr. Justice Lane, Chairman. One year	200
		Gordon—two months	20
		Mr. Guthrie—one quarter	50
Oct.	11th.	To Mr. Tillof Chichester—one year to Michaelmas	80
	13th.	To the Earl of Peterborough—one quarter to Michaelmas	100
		Mr. George Brudenell—one year	500
		Retained to myself by Your Majesty's special command—one quarter	1050
	18th.	Paid to Baron Münchhausen by Your Majesty's order—half a year to Christmas next	500
	19th.	To Mr. Charles Whitworth—half a year	200

[1] Charles Hamilton (1704–86), 9th son of James, 6th Earl of Abercorn; M.P. for Truro, 1741–47, and a Member of the Irish Parliament, 1727–60; in 1743 he was appointed Receiver-General of the King's Revenues in Minorca; it is as compensation for that sinecure, which disappeared with the loss of the island, that he was given the pension.

[2] This time Lord Rutherford's pension is entered separately; see above under July 29.

1757.		£
Oct. 22d.	To Mr. Scott—one quarter . . .	125
	To Lord Kinnoull—one quarter . .	200
	To Mr. Hamilton, the Duke of Hamilton's relation, half a year . . .	100
N.B.—50 additl. to be replaced.	To Mrs. Boone,[1] half a year to Christmas next	200
Nov. 17th.	To the Earl of Warwick—one quarter .	125
18th.	Mr. Ralph, half a year at Michaelmas last .	150
22d.	Mr. Burrowes, Beadle of Cambridge, one year	100
29th.	To Gordon. Two months . . .	20
Dec. 1st.	To Orford rent, half a year due at Christmas last	100
	Orford expences	100
	Col. Mordaunt, a quarter due at Michaelmas .	200
7th.	Given by Your Majesty as a present to Major Grant, Aide de Camp to the King of Prussia	500
20th.	To Baron Münchhausen . . .	1000
	To the Hereditary Prince of Wolfenbuttle .	2000
	To the Earl of Warrington, one year to Michaelmas, and then to cease [2] . .	1500
23d.	To the Earl of Cork, half a year to Michaelmas	400
	To Mr. Hewit, half a year to Michaelmas .	200
	To Mr. Rivett, half a year to Michaelmas .	150

[1] Anne, wife of Daniel Boone, M.P.; she was a daughter and co-heir of George Evelyn, of Rooksnest, Surrey, and widow of Thomas Gregg. Daniel Boone, M.P. 1741–61, had attached himself to Frederick, Prince of Wales, had been a Groom of his Bedchamber, and after his death in 1751 became "a clerk in the household of the Princess Dowager". The pension for his wife was presumably obtained through Leicester House influence, either from the Devonshire-Pitt Administration or on the formation of the Coalition in July 1757. The exact circumstances are not known to me. Cf. the marginal remark about returning £50, with entry under June 27, 1758.

[2] Lord Warrington had written to the Duke of Newcastle on November 1, 1757: "My years and growing infirmities making me little capable of being any ways serviceable to His Majesty, I ought not to be longer a burthen to him: that if your Grace please to clear my affair to last Michaelmass, it will be the last I shall either ask or expect" (Add. MSS. 32875, f. 372). Anyhow, he would not have seen another payment, as he died on August 2, 1758.

1758.			£
Jan.	10th.	Retained to myself by Your Majesty's special command, one quarter . . .	1050
	12th.	To Mr. Offley, half a year to make up his place	200
		To the Earl of Kinnoull, one quarter . .	200
		To Mr. Tyrrel, the French officer, who was employed in matters of secrecy by Colonel Lawrence in Nova Scotia[1]—one year at Christmas	200
		N.B.—The Duke of Devonshire paid him the same sum last year.	
		To Mr. Guthrie, one quarter . . .	50
	17th.	To the Earl of Peterborough, one quarter to Christmas	100
	19th.	To Mr. Scott. One quarter to Christmas .	125
		To the Earl of Warwick, one quarter to Christmas	125
		Marquess of Rockingham's friend, one year to Christmas	150
	20th.	To the Earl of Halifax. Half a year to Christmas	750
	25th.	To Mr. Charles Whitworth, one quarter to Christmas	100
	29th.	To Gordon. Two months . . .	20
		To the Earl of Tankerville, half a year to Christmas	400
		To Sir Francis Poole, one year at Christmas	300
		Col. Mordaunt, one quarter to Christmas .	200
		Mr. Robert Colebrooke, in part of an allowance of 600£ pr. ann.	300
		To Col. Pelham, one year to Christmas .	500
Feb.	8th.	To Mr. Ellis for Bryer of Weymouth, one year to Christmas	100
	22d.	To Mr. Schutz, 1/2 a year to Christmas .	200
March	9th.	Mr. Jenison.[2] 1/2 a year to Christmas .	900

[1] He was mentioned in Newcastle's "Mem[a] for the King", Sept. 12, 1756 (Add. MSS. 32867, f. 290), as "the French deserter from Cape Breton", and a pension of £200 p.a. was proposed for him.

[2] Ralph Jenison (1696–1758), M.P. for Northumberland, 1723–41, and for Newport, Isle of Wight, 1749–58; from 1737 till 1757, Master

1758.		£
March 9th.	Mr. Charles Hamilton. 1/2 a year to Christmas	600
14th.	Given by Your Majesty, as a present to Major Marwitz, Aide de Camp to the King of Prussia	500
15th.	To the Duke of Devonshire for Sir Henry Bedingfeld, one year due at Lady Day last .	500
17th.	To Mrs. Krahé, 1/2 a year due at Michaelmas	25
	Mr. Colvile. One year . . .	300
24th.	To Mr. Robert Colebrooke. Remainder of an allowance of 600£ pr. ann. . . .	300
	N.B.—He received the same sum last year in the same manner from the Duke of Devonshire.	
29th.	Gordon. Two months . . .	20
April 6th.	To the Earl of Peterborough, one quarter to Lady Day	100
	To Mr. Justice Fielding, 1/2 a year due at Lady Day	200
	To Lord Willoughby of Parham, one year to Lady Day	400
	To Mr. Guthrie—one quarter to Lady Day .	50
8th.	Retained to myself by Your Majesty's special command. One quarter . . .	1050
14th.	To the Earl of Kinnoull. One quarter to Lady Day	200
	To Col. Mordaunt. One quarter to Lady Day .	200
	Given by Your Majesty's order to Querré, the French Pilot [1]	300
	N.B.—Querré is to have an allowance of	

of H.M. Buckhounds. On the rearrangement of offices under the coalition government, Jenison gave up the Buckhounds to Lord Bateman, and as a compensation was offered at first a pension of £1500 p.a. from secret service funds (see Newcastle to Jenison, July 1, 1757; Add. MSS. 32872, f. 5). Jenison replied by asking that £1000 of it be placed on the Irish Establishment, as secret service pensions depended upon the life of the King (*ibid.* ff. 39 and 55-7). Obviously as a compromise, the pension was fixed higher, at £1800 p.a. Jenison died on May 15, 1758.

[1] Presumably Joseph Thierry, the French pilot who directed the attack against Rochefort in 1757.

1758.			£
		100£ pr. ann. to commence from Michaelmas last.	
April	14th.	To Lord Malpas in part of an allowance of 600£ pr. ann.	300
	18th.	To Mr. Charlton, Chairman of the Committees, one year as usual	500
		To the Earl of Ilchester. One year . .	400
	19th.	To Mrs. Krahé, 1/2 a year at Lady Day .	25
	20th.	To Mr. Charles Whitworth. One quarter to Lady Day	100
		To Mr. Ralph, 1/2 a year to Lady Day .	150
	22d.	To Col. Pelham, one quarter to Lady Day .	125
		N.B.—Colonel Pelham desires to be paid quarterly for the future.	
May	2d.	Lord Saye and Sele. One year to Lady Day .	600
	4th.	To Mr. Cooke, Mr. Gybbon's friend, 1/2 a year from Michaelmas to Lady Day . .	50
		N.B.—Mr. Cooke's allowance has been reduced from 150£ to 100£ pr. an. since he had an employment.[1]	
		Lord Montfort. One year to Christmas, of an allowance which, by Your Majesty's command, was to commence last Christmas was a twelvemonth [2]	800

[1] See letter from Cooke to Gybbon, January 18, 1758 (Add. MSS. 32877, f. 172): " . . . I am Agent for Prisoners of War . . . the annual salary is 200£, for which I pay dayly attendance ". Requests him to ask Newcastle " to make up the retaining fee (as he is pleas'd to call it) one hundred pounds. . . " . See also Cooke's letter of thanks to Newcastle, February 5, 1758, *ibid.* f. 362.

[2] Thomas (Bromley), 2nd Lord Montfort. His father, Henry Bromley, represented Cambridgeshire, 1727–41, when created Baron Montfort; he continued chief Whig manager for Cambridgeshire; he committed suicide on January 1, 1755. Thomas Bromley, who was returned for Cambridge Town at the general election of 1754, now succeeded to the peerage. In a letter of May 11, 1756, he reminded Newcastle of a promise to give him a pension before the end of the session. " I hope His Majesty and your Grace will not think £1000 p.a. too much considering the condition I am left in, incumbered with debts to the amount of above £30,000, and my estate out of repair

1758.			£
May	11th.	To Mr. Jenison.[1] One quarter to Lady Day .	450
	24th.	To Mr. Dodd by Your Majesty's command .	500
		To Mr. Allen, the Speaker's nephew, half a year to Christmas	100
	29th.	Gordon—two months . . .	20
	31st.	Mr. Hamilton, the late Duke of Hamilton's relation, half a year . . .	100
		To the Earl of Warwick. One quarter to Lady Day	125
June	15th.	To Lord Morton's three friends: Lord Rutherfurd . £150; Lord Borthwicke . 50; Lord Kircudbright . 50 — One year	250
	16th.	To Mr. Holmes—one year for the three Isle of Wight boroughs	600
		To Mr. Medlycott	600
		To Gordon's Transcriber. One year . .	50
		To Mr. Hewet. 1/2 a year to Lady Day .	200
		To Mr. Rivett. 1/2 a year to Lady Day .	150
		To Lord Dupplin, one year for Cambridge as usual	550
		To Mr. Vere of Stoneveers. One year .	400
	23rd.	Mr. Dugan Campbell. One year . .	400
		Lord Home. One year . . .	200
	27th.	Dr. Hepburne. One year . . .	100
		To Mr. Guthrie. A quarter to Midsummer .	50
		To Mrs. Boone. 1/2 a year due at Midsummer	200
		N.B.—Mr. Boone promis'd to return 50, if Your Majesty shall not think proper to encrease Mrs. Boone's allowance from 300£ to 400£ pr. ann.	

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and in a very ruinous condition. . . ." (Add. MSS. 32864, f. 524). The pension was agreed to in September 1756 (see footnote (1) under October 6, 1756).

[1] The receipt of this payment is acknowledged by his wife (Add. MSS. 32880, f. 54), he himself being too ill to write. He died on May 15.

1758.		£
June 27th.	To Orford rent. 1/2 a year due at Midsummer 1757	100
	To Ld. Malpas. Remainder	300
30th.	Given by Your Majesty as a present to Colonel Reden, dispatch'd by Prince Ferdinand	500
July 1st.	To Mr. Henry Fane for Lyme as usual [1]	100
6th.	To the Earl of Kinnoull. One quarter to Midsummer	200
	To Colonel Pelham. One quarter to Midsummer	125
	The Speaker's List. One year	360
	Mr. Allen, the Speaker's nephew, half a year to Midsummer	100
7th.	To Mr. Charles Whitworth. One quarter to Midsummer	100
14th.	To the Earl of Peterborough. One quarter to Midsummer	100
	To Col. Mordaunt. One quarter to Midsummer	200
	To Mr. Manly, the Mayor of Taunton, as usual, one year	70
	Retained to myself by Your Majesty's special command—one quarter	1050
	To the Earl of Halifax, half a year to Midsummer	750
17th.	To Baron Münchhausen, 1/2 a year to Midsummer	500
18th.	To Mr. Andrews, one year for Okehampton	100
21st.	Given by Your Majesty's order for a sword for Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick	1500
28th.	To Mr. Acourt Ashe. One year to Christmas	

[1] Henry Fane wrote to Newcastle on June 13, 1758: "I informed my friends of Lyme that your Grace had promised to renew the £100 a year for them, and they are pressing me for the money. . . . But I beg leave to mention that this must not be looked upon as any new or add[l] expence, because till within a very few years it was constantly paid from 1734 (when my uncle first went to that place) and by a stipulation when my late brother left the Board of Trade [December 1755], my brother Thomas was to have £200 a year which he waves and is therefore a saving" (Add. MSS. 32880, f. 431).

1758.			£
		was a twelvemonth, there being two years due at Christmas last . . .	500
July	29th.	To Gordon. Two months . . .	20
Aug.	11th.	To Mr. Offley, 1/2 a year to Midsummer .	200
	15th.	To Mr. Schutz, 1/2 a year to Midsummer .	200
		Mr. Charles Hamilton, 1/2 a year to Midsummer	600
		The Earl of Warwick, one quarter to Midsummer	125
	29th.	To the Earl of Tankerville, 1/2 a year to Midsummer	400
		To Mr. Acourt Ashe, one year to Christmas last	500
		To Mr. Thomas Watson, 1/2 a year . .	400
		To Mr. Justice Lane, one year . .	200
		To the Earl of Cork, 1/2 a year to Lady Day .	400
Sept.	5th.	Lord Montfort, 1/2 a year to Midsummer .	400
		Mr. John Ramy, a friend of Mr. Charles Townshend of Yarmouth.[1] One year .	200
	12th.	Given by Your Majesty's order to Garstin, the messenger, for bringing the news of the King of Prussia's victory . . .	50
	19th.	To Mr. Capel Hanbury, for one year for the Dissenting Ministers in Monmouthshire as usual	100
	27th.	To Sir Henry Bedingfeld, one year to Lady Day last	500
Oct.	3d.	To Mr. Guthrie. A quarter to Michaelmas .	50
		To Gordon. Two months . . .	20
	6th.	To Mr. Justice Fielding—1/2 a year to Michaelmas	200
	17th.	To the Earl of Peterborough. One quarter due at Michaelmas	100

[1] From an undated paper on "proposed pensions", which internal evidence places in 1758 (Add. MSS. 33039, f. 79), it appears that the pension was to run "till an employment falls". The death of Ramy is noted in the *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1794, p. 181: "January 15. Aged 75, John Ramey, esq., barrister at law . . . and senior of Great Yarmouth corporation." His daughter and co-heiress married in 1768, Alexander, 9th Earl of Home.

1758.			£
Oct.	17th.	To Colonel Pelham. One quarter due at Michaelmas	125
		To Querré, the French Pilot, one year due at Michaelmas	100
		To Mr. Till of Chichester, one year to Michaelmas	80
	18th.	To Mr. Ralph, 1/2 a year due at Michaelmas	150
		To Mrs. Krahé, 1/2 a year due at Michaelmas	25
		Retained to myself by Your Majesty's special command, one quarter	1050
Nov.	1st.	To Springer, the Swedish merchant, who has suffer'd so much	100
	7th.	To Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer for Mr. Duckett,[1] one year to Michaelmas last	500
		To Colonel Mordaunt, one quarter to Michaelmas	200
		To the Earl of Warwick, one quarter to Michaelmas	125
	17th.	To Your Majesty for Monsr. de Münchhausen	500
	22d.	To Orford rents, 1/2 a year due at Christmas last	100
		Orford expences	100
Dec.	7th.	To Mr. Burrowes, Beadle of Cambridge, one year to Michaelmas last	100
		To Gordon—two months	20
	19th.	To Mr. Henry Poole, in lieu of his place[2] at Minorca, which he has lost	500

[1] Thomas Duckett (1713–66), a London merchant and patron of the borough of Calne, for which he sat 1754–57 and 1761–66; he vacated his seat in 1757 to make room for Dr. Hay, at that time a follower of Pitt, agreeing "to accept a pension of £500 p.a. till an office of that value can be found for him" (Pitt to Newcastle, June 26, 1756; Add. MSS. 32871, f. 406). About Duckett see my article in the *Wiltshire Archaeological Magazine*, vol. xliv. June 1928.

[2] H. Poole, a son of Sir Francis Poole, M.P. for Lewes (about him see under April 22, 1755), and through his mother related to Newcastle, had been Deputy Paymaster at Minorca, which office disappeared with the loss of the island. The family "are starving by the loss of their place in Minorca," wrote Newcastle about them on August 23, 1757

			£
1758.			
Dec.	19th.	To Mr. Jeffreys by Your Majesty's order .	500
	20th.	To Mr. Hamilton, the late Duke of Hamilton's relation, 1/2 a year to Michaelmas . .	100
	21st.	To Dr. Molesworth [1]	200
		N.B.—Dr. Molesworth is by Your Majesty's order to have a pension of 200£ pr. ann.	
1759.			
Jan.	12th.	To Mrs. Boone, 1/2 a year due at Christmas .	200
		To Colonel Pelham, one quarter of a year due at Christmas	125
	17th.	Retained to myself, by Your Majesty's special command, one quarter . . .	1050
	18th.	To the Earl of Halifax, 1/2 a year at Christmas	750
		To Baron Münchhausen, 1/2 a year to Christmas	500
		To Mr. Allen, the Speaker's nephew, 1/2 a year due at Christmas . . .	100
		To Lord Montfort, 1/2 a year due at Christmas	400

(Add. MSS. 32873, f. 244). Unless some help was given them, "it would be impossible for Sir Francis Poole to continue at Lewes," wrote Henry Poole to Newcastle on January 14, 1758. "I have very often endeavour'd to perswade him to represent the situation of his affairs to your Grace, but have never been able to prevail with him" (Add. MSS. 32877, f. 128). The entry "Mr. Poole £500" appears in the "Memds. for the King" on October 10, 1758 (Add. MSS. 32884, f. 308) and on December 17, 1758 (Add. MSS. 32886, f. 214); in the latter, the remark is added in the margin: "Minorca place, starving, the first vacancy in the Customs or Excise—his Minorca place, the late Queen." Henry Poole was made Commissioner of the Excise in October 1760, when the pension stopped. Poole had moreover a place at the Exchequer worth £200, which he nominally retained with the Commissionership, but the profits of which, after being appointed to the commissionership, he had to pay over to H. V. Jones (see Add. MSS. 32911, ff. 272-3).

[1] This was another compensation for a place in Minorca. Dr. Coote Molesworth, M.D., F.R.S. (1697–1782), 6th son of Robert, 1st Viscount Molesworth, was in 1735 appointed physician to the garrison of Minorca; see also undated memo., of 1758, but misplaced in Add. MSS. 33040 (f. 373):

His place has ceas'd for this last year.	Dr. Molesworth, made physician to Minorca by the late Queen, is starving . .	£200

1759.		£
Jan. 18th.	To Mr. Hewet, 1/2 a year to Michaelmas .	200
	To Mr. Rivett, 1/2 a year to Michaelmas .	150
	To Lord Tankerville, 1/2 a year due at Christmas	400
	To Mr. Guthrie, one quarter due at Christmas .	50
	To Colo. Mordaunt, one quarter at Christmas .	200
	To Mr. Tyrrel, the French officer employed in Nova Scotia, one year due at Christmas .	200
	Two years for Harwich from April 1757 to April 1759	200
	N.B.—The Duke of Devonshire paid the last sum up to abovementioned time.	
19th.	Given, by Your Majesty's order, as a present to Baron Hardenberg	600
23d.	To Mr. Robt. Colebrooke in part of an allowance of 600£ pr. ann. . . .	300
	To the Earl of Peterborough, one quarter due at Christmas	100
30th.	Given by Your Majesty's order as a present to Mor. Alt	200
Feb. 2d.	To Mr. Chas. Hamilton, 1/2 a year due at Christmas	600
	To Mr. George Brudenell, one year . .	500
	To Gordon—two months . . .	20
6th.	To Mr. Ellis for Bryer of Weymouth, one year to Christmas	100
	To Mr. Schutz, 1/2 a year to Christmas .	200
	To the Earl of Warwick, one quarter to Christmas	125
9th.	To the Marq^{ss} of Rockingham's friend, one year to Christmas	150
22d.	To the Earl of Ilchester, one year . .	400
March 1st.	To Mr. Thomas Watson, 1/2 a year . .	400
30th.	To Mr. Charlton, Chairman of Committees as usual	500
	To Mr. Justice Fielding, 1/2 a year to Lady Day	200
	To Gordon, two months . . .	20
	To Mr. Guthrie, one quarter to Lady Day .	50
April 5th.	To Lord Willoughby of Parham, one year to Lady Day	400

1759.		£
April 13th.	To Mr. Ralph, 1/2 a year due at Lady Day .	150
	To the person who sends the intelligence to the Duke of Devonshire . . .	100
27th.	To Lord Morton's three friends: Lord Rutherfurd . 150£; Lord Borthwick . 50; Lord Kircudbright . 50 .	250
	To Gordon's Transcriber, one year . .	50
	To the Earl of Peterborough, one quarter to Lady Day	100
	To Col. Pelham, one quarter due at Lady Day	125
May 1st.	To Mrs. Krahé, 1/2 a year, due at Lady Day .	25
	To Col. Mordaunt, one quarter due at Lady Day	200
	To Lord Malpas, in part of an allowance of 600£ pr. ann:	300
3d.	To the Earl of Warwick, one quarter due at Lady Day	125
	To Mr. Cooke, Mr. Gybbon's friend, half a year to Lady Day	50
2d.	To Mr. Robert Colebrooke, remainder of an allowance of 600£ pr. ann. . . .	300
	To Mr. Martin towards Camelford election [1] .	300
8th.	To Mr. Medlycott for one year . .	600
11th.	To Lord Saye and Sele, one year to Lady Day	600
	To Mr. Hamilton, the late Duke of Hamilton's relation, 1/2 a year due at Lady Day .	100
	To Mr. Henry Fane for Lyme as usual .	100
17th.	To Sir Francis Poole, one year due at Christmas	300
18th.	To Mr. Dodd, one year . . .	500
25th.	Retained to myself by Your Majesty's special command, one quarter . . .	1050
	To Lord Malpas, remainder . . .	300
29th.	To Orford, rent, 1/2 a year due at Midsummer last	100
	To Mr. Offley, 1/2 a year to Christmas .	200

[1] See p. 422.

1759.		£	s.
June 8th.	To Mr. Reiche,[1] for the French Commissary who gave intelligence to Prince Ferdinand	25	0
	To Gordon, two months	20	0
12th.	To Dr. Hepburne, one year	100	0
	To Mr. Dugan Campbell, one year	400	0
15th.	To Col. Clavering, who brought the news from Guadeloupe, by Your Majesty's order	500	0
	To Mr. Andrews, one year for Okehampton	100	0
19th.	To Mr. Holmes, one year for the three Isle of Wight boroughs	600	0
23rd.	To the Earl of Kinnoull, one year for Cambridge as usual	550	0
July 5th.	The Speaker's List—one year	360	0
	Mr. Allen, the Speaker's nephew, 1/2 a year due at Midsummer	100	0
	To Mr. Hewett, 1/2 a year to Lady Day	200	0
	To Mr. Rivett, 1/2 a year to Lady Day	150	0
	To the Earl of Cork, 1/2 a year to Michaelmas last	400	0
6th.	To the Earl of Halifax, 1/2 a year due at Midsummer	750	0
	To Mrs. Boone, 1/2 a year due at Midsummer	200	0
	To the Earl of Peterborough, one quarter to Midsummer	100	0
	To Mr. Thos. Watson, 1/2 a year to Midsummer	400	0
	To Mr. Guthrie, one quarter, to Midsummer	50	0
10th.	To Col. Mordaunt, one quarter due at Midsummer	200	0
17th.	To the Earl of Warwick, one quarter, due at Midsummer [2]	125	0
	To the Earl of Warwick as a gratuity by Your Majesty's particular order	500	0

[1] Gerhard Andreas von Reiche, Secretary to the Elector of Hanover.

[2] See "Mem^ds for the King", July 6, 1759 (Add. MSS. 32892, f. 444): "Poor Lord Warwick—his petition—for 500£ only—a great act of charity."

1759.		£	s.
July 17th.	To Col. Pelham, one quarter due at Midsummer	125	0
	To Mr. Vere of Stoneveers, one year	400	0
20th.	To Baron Münchhausen, 1/2 a year due at Midsummer	500	0
	To Mr. John Ramy, a friend of Mr. Charles Townshend, of Yarmouth, one year to Midsummer	200	0
	To Mr. Justice Lane, one year	200	0
	To Mr. Capel Hanbury, one year for the Dissenting Ministers in Monmouthshire as usual	100	0
	To Mr. Manly, the Mayor of Taunton, one year as usual	70	0
24th.	To Mr. Schutz, 1/2 a year due at Midsummer	200	0
	To Lord Montfort, 1/2 a year due at Midsummer	400	0
	To the Earl of Tankerville, 1/2 a year due at Midsummer	400	0
	Retained to myself, by Your Majesty's special command, one quarter	1050	0
	Paid to Mr. Webb, by Your Majesty's order, for his actual disbursements only on the enquiry in 1757 [1]	352	7
27th.	To Mr. Charles Hamilton, half a year due at Midsummer	600	0
	To Mr. Fairfax as a gratuity by Your Majesty's particular order	500	0
31st.	To Mr. Offley, 1/2 a year, due at Midsummer	200	0
	To Mr. Gordon, two months	20	0
Aug. 16th.	To Mor. Erstorff, Adjutant General to Prince		

[1] This refers to the enquiry into the loss of Minorca, which was concluded in May 1757. For a detailed account of these disbursements see Add. MSS. 33039, ff. 5-7. P. C. Webb, M.P., Solicitor to the Treasury, acted on instructions from Lord Hardwicke; two letters relating to the matter are published in Mr. P. C. Yorke's *Life of Lord Hardwicke*, vol. ii. pp. 355-57.

1759.			£
		Ferdinand, who brought the account of the great and compleat victory near Minden, by Your Majesty's order . .	500
Aug.	16th.	To Col. Fitzroy, Aid de Camp to Prince Ferdinand, by Your Majesty's order .	500
		To Capt. Ligonier, Aid de Camp to Prince Ferdinand, by Your Majesty's order .	500
	25th.	To Mr. Andrews for Mr. Henry Luxmore,[1] of Okehampton, 1/2 a year due at Midsummer	50
	28th.	To Mr. White's friend at Retford by Your Majesty's command[1] . . .	50
Sept.	4th.	To Your Majesty for a George for Prince Ferdinand	1500
	14th.	To Mr. Gybbon, for necessary law charges at Rye, by Your Majesty's order[1] . .	300
		To Davis, of Rye, 1/2 a year to Midsummer last[1]	50
Oct.	2d.	To Gordon—two months . . .	20
	5th.	To Mr. Justice Fielding, 1/2 a year due at Michaelmas	200
		To Mr. Guthrie, one quarter to Michaelmas .	50
	12th.	To Col. Pelham, one quarter due at Michaelmas	125
		To Lady Warwick, one quarter which would have been due to the late Earl of Warwick at Michaelmas	125
	16th.	To Sir Henry Bedingfeld, one year due at Lady Day last	500
		To Mr. Hamilton, the late Duke of Hamilton's relation, 1/2 a year due at Michaelmas last .	100

[1] See Newcastle's "Mem[ds] for the King", July 20, 1759 (Add. MSS. 32893, f. 168):

"Elections Expences for elections creep on apace.
Rye Mr. Gybbon 350£ law charges.
£100 p.a. for one Davis.
Retford £50 p.a. necessary there to one of their voters.
Oakhampton £100 p.a. to Mr. Luxmore."

About the case at Rye see also Add. MSS. 32888, ff. 25 and 112-13, and 32893, ff. 54, 84, and 152.

			£
1759.			
Oct.	16th.	To Col. Mordaunt, one quarter due at Michaelmas	200
	23d.	To Mrs. Krahé, 1/2 a year, due at Michaelmas .	25
	26th.	To the Earl of Peterborough, one quarter, due at Michaelmas	100
		To Mr. Ralph, 1/2 a year, due at Michaelmas .	150
	30th.	Retained to myself by Your Majesty's special command, one quarter . . .	1050
Nov.	6th.	To Orford rent, 1/2 a year, due at Christmas last	100
		To Orford expences	100
	13th.	To Querré, the French pilot, one year due at Michaelmas	100
		To Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, one year for Mr. Duckett to Michaelmas last .	500
	21st.	To Col. Robinson, in lieu of his place about the young Princes, one quarter to Michaelmas last[1]	100
Dec.	4th.	To Mr. Thomas Pitt, in consequence of an agreement with Mr. Andrews . .	1000
		To Gordon—two months . . .	20
	11th.	To the Earl of Cork, 1/2 a year due at Lady Day	400
	14th.	To Baron Münchhausen, 1/2 a year due at Christmas next	500
1760.			
Jan.	15th.	To the Earl of Halifax, half a year due at Christmas	750
		To Mr. Ellis, for Bryer of Weymouth, one year to Christmas	100
		To Mr. Andrews for Mr. Henry Luxmore of Okehampton, 1/2 a year due at Christmas .	50

[1] The following entry about this pension appears in Newcastle's "Memds. for the King" on May 24, 1759 (Add. MSS. 32891, f. 118):

Col. Robinson £400 *private* till some place can be found for him. The ill consequence (in the present state of the Administration) if this affair should now fail for a *trifle*.

Mr. Pitt—Mr. Legge—Leicester House.

1760.			£
Jan.	15th.	Retained to myself by Your Majesty's special command, one quarter . . .	1050
		To Mr. Burrowes, Beadle of Cambridge, one year due at Michaelmas last . .	100
	17th.	To Mr. Henry Poole, in lieu of his place at Minorca, one year	500
		To Mr. Guthrie, one quarter due at Christmas .	50
		To Col. Pelham, one quarter due at Christmas	125
	18th.	To Col. Robinson, in lieu of his place about the young Princes, one quarter, due at Christmas	100
		To the Countess of Warwick, one quarter, due at Christmas	75
		To Lady Charlotte Rich, one quarter, due at Christmas	50
		N.B.—Lady Warwick is, by Your Majesty's command, to have a pension of £300 p^{r}. ann., and Lady Charlotte Rich of £200 p^{r}. ann.	
		To Col. Mordaunt, one quarter due at Christmas	200
	22d.	To Lord Montfort, 1/2 a year due at Christmas	400
	23rd.	To Mr. Tyrrel, the French officer employed in Nova Scotia, one year due at Christmas .	200
		To Mr. Allen, the Speaker's nephew, 1/2 a year due at Christmas	100
N.B.	25th.	To Mr. Whitworth, three quarters at the rate of 200£ pr. ann., in order to make up his Government 400£ pr: ann: . . .	150
	30th.	To the Earl of Peterborough, one quarter due at Christmas	100
		To Mrs. Boone, 1/2 a year, due at Christmas .	200
Feb.	1st.	To Mr. Reiche for the French Commissary who gave intelligence to Prince Ferdinand, the further sum of	25
	5th.	To Mr. Rob^{t}. Colebrooke in part of an allowance of £600 pr: ann: . . .	300
		To the Earl of Tankerville, 1/2 a year due at Christmas	400
	12th.	To Gordon—two months . . .	20

1760.		£
Feb. 15th.	To Baron Münchhausen for the wine merchant Koch, recommended by Prince Ferdinand .	100
19th.	To Mr. Hewet, 1/2 a year, due at Michaelmas	200
	To Mr. Rivett, 1/2 a year, due at Michaelmas.	150
20th.	To the Marq^{ss} of Rockingham's *two* friends, one year due at Christmas . . .	250
22d.	To Mr. Cooke, Mr. Gybbon's friend, 1/2 a year due at Michaelmas	50
29th.	To the Earl of Ilchester, one year . .	400
March 4th.	To Mr. Charles Hamilton, 1/2 a year due at Christmas	600
	To Lord Malpas in part of an allowance of 600£ pr: ann:	300
	To Mr. Schutz, 1/2 a year to Christmas .	200
5th.	To Mr. Molesworth, one year . . .	200
	To Springer, the Swedish merchant, who suffered so much	100
11th.	To Your Majesty for Prince Ferdinand's two Aids de Camp, Mo^{r} Derenthal, and Mo^{r} Winzingerode	400
13th.	To Mr. Thomas Watson, 1/2 a year, due at Christmas last	400
18th.	To Mr. Langford, Mr. Sergison's son in law, 1/2 a year due at Christmas last . .	150
	To Davis of Rye, 1/2 a year due at Christmas .	50
	To Mr. Charlton, Chairman of the Committees, as usual	500
19th.	To Sir Francis Poole, one year due at Christmas	300
21st.	To Mr. Whitworth, the remaining three quarters, at the rate of 200£ pr: ann: in order to make up his Government 400£ pr: ann: .	150
27th.	To Mr. Justice Fielding, 1/2 a year, due at Lady Day	200
	For Orford rent, 1/2 a year due at Midsummer last	100
	For Harwich, one year, due at Lady Day .	100
	To Col. Pelham, one quarter, due at Lady Day	125
April 1st.	To Your Majesty, in addition to Prince Fer-	

1760.		£
	dinand's two Aides de Camp, Mo^{r} Derenthal, and Mo^{r} Winzingerode . . .	200
April 1st.	To Lord Willoughby of Parham, one year, due at Lady Day	400
	To Mr. George Brudenell, one year . .	500
3d.	To the Earl of Peterborough, one quarter due at Lady Day	100
	To Mr. Hamilton, the late Duke of Hamilton's relation, 1/2 a year due at Lady Day .	100
	To the Countess of Warwick, one quarter, due at Lady Day	75
	To Lady Charlotte Rich, one quarter due at Lady Day	50
	To Mr. Gordon—two months . . .	20
10th.	To Mr. Guthrie, one quarter due at Lady Day	50
	Retain'd to myself by Your Majesty's special command. One quarter . . .	1050
15th.	Col. Mordaunt, one quarter due at Lady Day .	200
22d.	To Gordon's Transcriber, one year . .	50
24th.	To Lord Morton's friends : Lord Borthwick . 50; Lord Kircudbright 50; and to the widow of the late L^{d} Rutherfurd 50 .	150
	To Mr. Ralph, 1/2 a year due at Lady Day .	150
May 1st.	To Mr. Cooke, Mr. Gybbon's friend, 1/2 a year due at Lady Day	50
	To Mr. Robert Colebrooke, remainder of an allowance of 600£ pr. ann. . . .	300
	To Lord Saye and Sele, one year to Lady Day	600
2d.	To Col. Robinson in lieu of his place about the young Princes—one quarter due at Lady Day	100
7th.	To Mrs. Krahé, 1/2 a year due at Lady Day .	25
8th.	To Lord Malpas. Remainder . . .	300
	To Mr. Offley, 1/2 a year due at Christmas .	200
13th.	To Mr. Dugan Campbell, one year . .	400
20th.	To Mr. Burrowes, Beadle of Cambridge, 1/2 a year due at Lady Day last . . .	50

1760.			£
May	20th.	To Mr. Dodd, one year . . .	500
	22d.	To Mr. Medlycott, one year . . .	600
	27th.	To the Earl of Morton's friend, Mr. Baikie of Orkney [1]	200
		To Mr. Fairfax as a gratuity by Your Majesty's particular order	500
		To Mr. Holmes, one year for the three Isle of Wight boroughs	600
June	4th.	To Mr. Henry Fane for Lyme, as usual .	100
	10th.	To the Earl of Cork, 1/2 a year due at Michaelmas last	400
		To Mr. Andrews, one year for Okehampton .	100
		To Mr. Gordon, two months . . .	20
	20th.	To Lord Parker for one year due at Midsummer last	600
		N.B.—Lord Parker is to have an allowance of 600£ pr. ann.	
		To Mr. Keck, for 1/2 a year due at Midsummer next	300
		N.B.—Mr. Keck is to have an allowance of 600£ pr: ann: [2]	

[1] James Baikie, provost of Dingwall during the rebellion of 1745. The Baikies were a leading family in the Orkneys, and James Baikie's son Robert was returned for the county in 1780, but unseated on petition. In 1760, Lord Morton was afraid of his candidate, Sir James Douglas, losing the election, and James Baikie was given the pension of £200 p.a. to secure it. See Newcastle's "Mem^{ds} for the King", May 16, 22, and 23, 1760 (Add. MSS. 32906, ff. 103, 197, and 235); also Baikie's letter of October 10, 1760, acknowledging receipt of the £200, and expressing the hope that the "bounty" will be continued (Add. MSS. 32913, f. 28).

[2] A. T. Keck, M.P. for Woodstock, 1753–67; about him see my note on "Three Eighteenth-Century Politicians", in the *English Historical Review*, July 1927. In December 1759, the Duke of Marlborough unsuccessfully applied for a place for him (Add. MSS. 32900, ff. 105 and 212). On May 2, 1760, Newcastle in his "Memds. for the King" suggested a pension of £400 for him (Add. MSS. 32905, f. 242). On June 7, 1760, Marlborough reminded Newcastle of the pension of £700 p.a. which he was to have received as from May 1, "till he could be otherwise provided for" (Add. MSS. 32907, f. 66);

1760.		£
June 25th.	To Mr. Cadogan in the absence of the Earl of Kinnoull, one year for Cambridge as usual .	550
	To Mr. Hewet, 1/2 a year due at Lady Day .	200
	To Mr. Rivett, 1/2 a year due at Lady Day .	150
	To Mr. T. Watson, 1/2 a year, due at Midsummer	400
July 15th.	Retained to myself, by Your Majesty's special command, one quarter . . .	1050
	To the Earl of Lincoln, as High Steward of Westminster for the expences of the Deputy Steward, and Court of Burgesses, in order to secure the election without any further expence	500
	To Col. Pelham, one quarter due at Midsummer	125
	To Col. Mordaunt, one quarter due at Midsummer	200
	To Col. Robinson, in lieu of his place about the young Princes, one quarter due at Midsummer	100
	Mr. Guthrie, one quarter due at Midsummer .	50
	To the Countess of Warwick, one quarter due at Midsummer	75
	To Lady Charlotte Rich, one quarter due at Midsummer	50
	To Mr. Andrews, for Mr. Henry Luxmore of Okehampton, 1/2 a year due at Midsummer .	50
	To Mor Münchhausen, 1/2 a year due at Midsummer	500
	To the Earl of Halifax, 1/2 a year due at Midsummer	750
	The Speaker's List, one year . . .	360
	Mr. Allen, the Speaker's nephew, 1/2 a year, due at Midsummer	100

Newcastle replied on June 12: "His Majesty was very glad of an opportunity to oblige your Grace, and very readily agreed to give an allowance of 600£ p.a. to the person, mentioned in your Grace's letter. He would not, however, go beyond £600, but agreed to the pension starting as from last Christmas" (*ibid.* f. 176).

1760.			£
July	15th.	Mr. Schutz, 1/2 a year due at Midsummer	200
		Earl of Tankerville, 1/2 a year due at Midsummer	400
		Mrs. Boone, 1/2 a year due at Midsummer	200
	25th.	To the Earl of Peterborough, one quarter due at Midsummer	100
Sept.	17th.	To Mr. Capel Hanbury for the Dissenting Ministers in Monmouthshire. One year as usual	100
		To Mr. Manly, Mayor of Taunton. One year as usual	70
	19th.	To Mr. T. Leslie, by Your Majesty's order, to enable him to secure his election	500
		To Mr. Offley, 1/2 a year, due at Midsummer	200
		To Mr. Chas. Hamilton, 1/2 a year due at Midsummer	600
	30th.	To Mr. Justice Lane, one year	200
		To Sir Francis Eyles Stiles [1] by Your Majesty's order, to enable him to go abroad for the benefit of his health	300
		To Mr. John Ramy, a friend of Mr. Charles Townshend at Yarmouth, one year due at Midsummer	200
Oct.	3d.	To Mr. Justice Fielding, 1/2 a year due at Michaelmas	200
	7th.	To Gordon—four months	40
	14th.	To Col. Pelham. One quarter due at Michaelmas	125
		To Mr. White's friend, at Retford, one year	50
	17th.	To the Earl of Peterborough, one quarter due at Michaelmas	100
		To Col. Robinson, in lieu of his place about	

[1] Sir Francis Haskins Eyles-Stiles, 3rd Bart., F.R.S.; descended from a family of Wiltshire clothiers who between 1715 and 1742 had the dominant interest in the borough of Devizes; his grandfather and father were Lord Mayors of London. He succeeded to the baronetcy in March 1745, and a few months later sold his estate, Gidea Hall. He was a Commissioner of the Victualling Office of the Navy, 1747–1762; died at Naples in 1762.

1760.		£	s.
	the young Princes, one quarter due at Michaelmas	100	0
Oct. 17th.	To Mr. Guthrie, one quarter due at Michaelmas	50	0
	To Mr. Hamilton, the late Duke of Hamilton's relation, 1/2 a year due at Michaelmas .	100	0
	To the Countess of Warwick, one quarter due at Michaelmas . . .	75	0
	To Lady Charlotte Rich, one quarter due at Michaelmas	50	0
	To Col. Mordaunt, one quarter due at Michaelmas	200	0
	Retain'd to myself, by Your Majesty's special command, one quarter . .	1050	0
21st.	To the Earl of Cork, 1/2 a year, due at Lady Day last	400	0
	To Mr. Ralph, 1/2 a year, due at Michaelmas last	150	0
	Paid away .	114,857	7
	Remains . .	5,142	13
	Total receipt .	120,000	0

March 11th, 1761.

I this day receiv'd the King's orders to pay the arrears, due on the private account, up to Michaelmas last, out of the money remaining in my hands as far as that would go; and to have a warrant prepar'd for such further sum, out of the late King's arrears, as should be sufficient to discharge the remainder; which warrant is to be for the sum of . . . £6352 7s.

1761.		£	s.
March 12th.	To Baron Münchhausen, one quarter due at Michaelmas last . . .	250	0
	To the Earl of Halifax, one quarter due at Michaelmas last . . .	375	0
	To the Earl of Ilchester, three quarters due at Michaelmas last . . .	300	0

1761.		£	s.
March 12th.	To Mr. Langford, Mr. Sergison's son in law, three quarters due at Michaelmas last .	225	0
13th.	To Lord Willoughby of Parham, 1/2 a year, due at Michaelmas last . .	200	0
17th.	To Mr. George Brudenell, 3 quarters due at Michaelmas last . . .	375	0
	To Mr. Charles Hamilton, one quarter due at Michaelmas last . . .	300	0
	To Mr. Thomas Watson, one quarter to Michaelmas	200	0
18th.	To Mr. Keck, one quarter to Michaelmas .	150	0
19th.	To Sir Francis Poole, three quarters to Michaelmas	225	0
	To Mr. Henry Poole, three quarters to Michaelmas	325	0
	To Lord Saye and Sele, 1/2 a year to Michaelmas	300	0
	To Mr. Schutz, one quarter to Michaelmas [1]	100	0
	To Mr. Robert Colebrooke, 1/2 a year to Michaelmas	300	0
	To Mr. Tyrrel, the French officer employ'd in Nova Scotia, three quarters to Michaelmas	150	0
April 1st.	To the Earl of Tankerville, one quarter due at Michaelmas last . . .	200	0
	To Mr. Offley, one quarter due at Michaelmas last	100	0
3d.	To Querré, the French Pilot, one year due at Michaelmas last . . .	100	0
	To Gordon's transcriber, 1/2 a year due at Michaelmas last . . .	25	0
	To Lord Rockingham's two friends, three quarters due at Michaelmas last .	187	10

[1] On the accession of George III he lost both his place as Ranger of Richmond Lodge and his pension. For his letters and memorial asking that his pay be extended at least till Christmas 1760, as he had to make up his official accounts to that date, see Add. MSS. 32920, f. 426 ; 32926, f. 384 ; and 32935, f. 455.

1761.		£	s.
April 3d.	To Mr. Manly, Mayor of Taunton, one quarter due at Michaelmas last . .	17	10
	To Springer, the Swedish merchant, 3 quarters to Michaelmas last . .	75	0
8th.	To Lord Morton's friends: Lord Borthwick / L[d] Kircudbright and / L[d] Rutherfurd's widow 1/2 a year due at Michaelmas. each £50 pr. ann. .	75	0
	To Mr. Baikie of Orkney, 1/2 a year due at Michaelmas	100	0
9th.	To Mr. Davis of Rye, 3 quarters due at Michaelmas last . . .	75	0
	To Mr. Cooke, Mr. Gybbon's friend, 1/2 a year due at Michaelmas last . .	50	0
	To Mr. Allen, the Speaker's nephew, one quarter due at Michaelmas last . .	50	0
14th.	To Lord Parker, one quarter due at Michaelmas last	150	0
	To Mr. Medlycott, 1/2 a year due at Michaelmas last	300	0
	Orford rent, one year and a quarter to Michaelmas last . . .	250	0
	Orford expences—one year to Michaelmas last	100	0
	To Harwich, 1/2 a year to Michaelmas last	50	0
15th.	To Mrs. Krahé, 1/2 a year due at Michaelmas last	25	0
	To Mr. Hewett, 1/2 a year due at Michaelmas last	200	0
	To Mr. Rivett, 1/2 a year due at Michaelmas last	150	0
21st.	To Lord Malpas, 1/2 a year due at Michaelmas last[1]	300	0
23rd.	To Lord Holmes, 1/2 a year to Michaelmas for the three Isle of Wight burroughs .	300	0

[1] See letter from Lord Malpas to the Duke of Newcastle, March 10, 1761, asking to have "his *particular business*" finished before he leaves town on the 12th (Add. MSS. 32920, f. 86).

1761.			£
May	7th.	To Mr. Andrews for Mr. Henry Luxmore of Okehampton—one quarter due at Michaelmas last	25
	22d.	To the Earl of Cork, 1/2 a year due at Michaelmas last	400
June	11th.	To Lord Montfort, three quarters due at Michaelmas last	600
	16th.	To Mr. Burrowes, Beadle of Cambridge, 1/2 a year due at Michaelmas last . .	50
	24th.	To Mrs. Boone, one quarter due at Michaelmas last	100
	25th.	To Mr. Andrews for Okehampton, 1/2 a year due at Michaelmas last . . .	50
		To Mr. Cadogan, 1/2 a year for Cambridge, due at Michaelmas last	275
		To Mr. Molesworth, three quarters due at Michaelmas last	150
		To Mr. Acourt Ashe, two years and three quarters due at Michaelmas last, 1760 .	1375
		To Mr. Charlton, Chairman of the Committees—three quarters to Michaelmas last [1]	375
July	29th.	To Mr. Henry Fane for Lyme, 1/2 a year due at Michaelmas last	50
		To Mr. John Ramy, a friend of Mr. Chas. Townshend of Yarmouth, one quarter due at Michaelmas last	50
Sept.	4th.	To Mr. Justice Lane, one quarter due at Michaelmas	50
		The Speaker's List. One quarter due at Michaelmas last	90
	8th.	To Mr. Geo. Brudenell, one year, being an old arrear	500
Oct.	29th.	To Capel Hanbury for the Dissenting Ministers	

[1] Charlton had written to Newcastle on February 18, 1761 (Add. MSS. 32919, f. 98): "I shal acknowledge it as a particular favor, if your Grace wil order my allowance for the Chair. I understand, that a double gratuity has been given, the establishment of the Civil List Revenue and the Supplies of the Year being considered as two distinct services. . . ." His claim to this double gratuity was not admitted.

		£
1761.		
	in Monmouthshire, one quarter to Michaelmas 1760	25
Dec. 22d.	To Mr. Dodd, 1/2 a year due at Michaelmas 1760	250
1762.		
May 25th.	To Mr. Duckett, one year to Michaelmas 1760	500
	To Mr. Ellis for Bryer of Weymouth, three quarters to Michaelmas 1760 . .	75
	Paid away . . .	11,645
	Remains unpaid . .	850
	(initialled) G. R.	12,495

Add. MSS. 33044, ff. 107-108

		£	
July 15, 1757.	Receiv'd of Mr. West .	10,000	
December 20, 1757.	Receiv'd of Mr. West .	10,000	
March 7, 1758.	Receiv'd of Mr. West .	10,000	
June 15, 1758.	Receiv'd of Mr. West .	10,000	
August 3, 1758.	Receiv'd of Mr. West .	10,000	
January 17, 1759.	Receiv'd of Mr. West .	10,000	
May 1, 1759.	Receiv'd of Mr. West .	10,000	
July 17, 1759.	Receiv'd of Mr. West .	10,000	
September 25, 1759.	Receiv'd of Mr. West .	10,000	
February 16, 1760.	Receiv'd of Mr. West .	10,000	
May 20, 1760.	Receiv'd of Mr. West .	10,000	
September 29, 1760.	Receiv'd of Mr. West .	10,000	
		120,000	
March 19, 1761.	Receiv'd of Mr. West, being the sum necessary to pay off the arrears due on account of the late King . .	6,352	7s.
	Total . .	126,352	7s.
July 22, 1761.	Receiv'd of Mr. West to pay an arrear to Mr. A'Court Ashe and Mr. George Brudenell .	£1000	

"NEW BOOK"

"PRESENT KING'S PRIVATE ACCOUNT" (March 19, 1761–May 25, 1762)

Add. MSS. 33044, ff. 178-210 (this is the copy initialled by George III); another copy, ff. 211-43

		£
1761.		
March 19th.	Receiv'd of Mr. West . . .	10,000
July 22d.	Receiv'd of Mr. West . . .	10,000
Nov. 11th.	Receiv'd of Mr. West . . .	10,000
1762.		
Feb. 15th.	Receiv'd of Mr. West . . .	10,000
May 25th.	Receiv'd of Mr. West . . .	10,000

1761.		
March 20th.	To Baron Münchhausen, 1/4 due at X$^{mas.}$ last	250
	To the Earl of Halifax, 1/4 due at X$^{s.}$ last .	375
24th.	Retain'd to myself by Your Majesty's special command, 1/4 to X$^{s.}$ last . . .	1050
April 3d.	To Gordon—six months . . .	60
8th.	To Lord Morton's friends: Lord Borthwick / Lord Kircudbright and / L^{d} Rutherfurd's widow } each 50£ pr. ann. half a year due at Lady Day .	75
	To Mr. Baikie of Orkney, 1/2 a year due at Lady Day	100
	To Colonel Mordaunt, 1/2 a year due at Lady Day	400
9th.	To Mr. Hamilton, the late Duke of Hamilton's relation, 1/2 a year due at Lady Day .	100
	To the Earl of Peterborough, 1/2 a year due at Lady Day	200
	To Col. Pelham, 1/2 a year due at Lady Day	250
	To the Countess of Warwick, 1/2 a year due at Lady Day	150
	To Lady Charlotte Rich, 1/2 a year due at Lady Day	100

1761.		£
April 9th.	Retain'd to myself by Your Majesty's special command, 1/4 to Lady Day . . .	1050
	To Mr. Guthrie, 1/2 a year due at Lady Day .	100
	To Mr. Allen, the Speaker's nephew, 1/2 a year due at Lady Day	100
10th.	To Mr. Justice Fielding, 1/2 a year due at Lady Day	200
	To Gordon's transcriber, 1/2 a year due at Lady Day	25
14th.	To Col. Robinson, 1/2 a year due at Lady Day	200
	To Mr. Robt Colebrooke, remainder of an allowance of 600£ pr. ann. . . .	300
	To Lord Parker, 1/2 a year due at Lady Day .	300
	To Mr. Medlycott, 1/2 a year due at Lady Day	300
	To Lord Saye and Sele, 1/2 a year due at Lady Day	300
15th.	To Mrs. Krahé, 1/2 a year due at Lady Day .	25
17th.	To Mr. Chas. Hamilton, 1/2 a year due at Lady Day	600
21st.	To Lord Malpas, 1/2 a year due at Lady Day .	300
22d.	To Mr. Jeffreys, 1/2 a year due at Lady Day .	250
23d.	To Lord Holmes, 1/2 a year due at Lady Day last for the three Isle of Wight boroughs .	300
May 7th.	To Mr. Ralph, 1/2 a year due at Lady Day .	150
	To Mr. Offley, 1/2 a year due at Lady Day .	200
	To Mr. Andrews for Mr. Henry Luxmore of Okehampton, 1/2 a year due at Lady Day .	50
	To the Earl of Halifax, one quarter to Lady Day	375
	N.B.—This is to be the last payment.	
19th.	To Mr. Henry Finch, one quarter to Lady Day	225
22d.	To the Earl of Tankerville, 1/2 a year due at Lady Day	400
June 3d.	To Mr. Keck, 1/2 a year due at Lady Day .	300
16th.	To Mr. Burrowes, Beadle of Cambridge, 1/2 a year due at Lady Day . . .	50
24th.	To Gordon.—Two months . . .	20
	To Mrs. Boone—one quarter due at Christmas last	100

1761.		£
June 25th.	To Mr. Andrews for Okehampton, 1/2 a year due at Lady Day	50
	To Mr. Cadogan, for Cambridge, 1/2 a year due at Lady Day	275
	To Mr. Molesworth, one quarter due at Christmas last	50
	To Mr. Charlton, Chairman of the Committees, one quarter	125
July 29th.	To Mr. James Brudenell, one quarter due at Midsummer last	150
	To Col. Mordaunt, one quarter due at Midsummer last	300
	To Mrs. Boone, 1/2 a year due at Midsummer	200
	To Mr. Guthrie, one quarter due at Midsummer last	50
	To Mr. Justice Lane, three quarters due at Midsummer last	150
	To Mr. John Ramy, a friend of Mr. Chas. Townshend of Yarmouth, three quarters due at Midsummer last	150
	To the Countess of Warwick, one quarter due at Midsummer last	75
	To Lady Charlotte Rich, one quarter due at Midsummer last	50
	To Lord Delamer,[1] one quarter due at Midsummer last	200
	To Colonel Pelham, one quarter due at Midsummer last	125
	To Mr. Henry Fane for Lyme, 1/2 a year due at Midsummer last	50
	Retain'd to myself by Your Majesty's special command, one quarter to Midsummer	1050
Aug. 5th.	To Baron Münchhausen, 1/2 a year due at Midsummer	500

[1] Nathaniel (Booth), 7th Baron Delamer (1705–70), succeeded in 1758 his cousin George, 2nd Earl of Warrington (about him see p. 541) in the Barony, whilst the Earldom became extinct. In Newcastle's "Mem^ds for Lord Bute", March 6, 1761 (Add. MSS. 32919, f. 475), a pension of £1000 p.a. was suggested for Lord Delamer.

1761.		£
Aug. 5th.	To the Earl of Peterborough, one quarter due at Midsummer	100
	To Gordon.—Two months . . .	20
26th.	To Mr. Cooke, Mr. Gybbon's friend, 1/2 a year due at Lady Day	50
	To Lord Montfort—1/2 a year due at Lady Day	400
Sept. 2d.	To Major Wedderburn, who brought the account of the Battle of Fillinghausen, by Your Majesty's order . . .	500
4th.	To Lord Willoughby of Parham, 1/2 a year due at Lady Day	200
	The Speaker's List, three quarters due at Midsummer	270
	Mr. Manly, Mayor of Taunton, 1/2 a year due at Lady Day	35
Oct. 1st.	To Mr. Hewett, 1/2 a year due at Lady Day .	200
	To Mr. Rivett, 1/2 a year due at Lady Day .	150
	To Gordon.—Two months . . .	20
2d.	To Sir John Fielding, 1/2 a year due at Michaelmas	200
15th.	To the Earl of Peterborough, one quarter due at Michaelmas	100
29th.	To the R^{t} Hon^{ble} Mr. Mackenzie, 1/2 a year due at Michaelmas last . . .	1000
	N.B.—Mr. Mackenzie is, by Your Majesty's order to have an allowance of 2000£ pr. ann: from Lady Day last.	
	Retain'd to myself, by Your Majesty's special command, one quarter to Michaelmas last .	1050
	To Mr. Tyrrell, the French officer, employ'd in Nova Scotia, one year due at Michaelmas .	200
	To Mr. Allen, the late Speaker's nephew, 1/2 a year to Michaelmas . . .	100
	To Querré, the French Pilot, a year to Michaelmas	100
	To Mr. Guthrie, one quarter to Michaelmas .	50
	To Col. Mordaunt, one quarter to Michaelmas	300
	To Mr. Ralph, 1/2 a year to Michaelmas .	150
	To the Countess Dowager of Warwick, one quarter to Mich^{s}.	75

1761.		£
Oct. 29th.	To Lady Charlotte Rich, one quarter to Michaelmas	50
	To Lord Delamer, one quarter to Michaelmas	200
	To Mr. Jeffreys, 1/2 a year to Michaelmas	250
	To Mrs. Krahé, 1/2 a year to Michaelmas	25
	To Mr. James Brudenell, one quarter to Michaelmas	150
	To Col. Pelham, one quarter to Michaelmas	125
	To Mr. Hamilton, the late Duke of Hamilton's relation, 1/2 a year due at Michaelmas	100
	To Orford rent—one year to Michaelmas last	200
	To Orford expences, one year to Michaelmas last	100
	To Harwich, one year to Michaelmas last	100
	To Mr. Hanbury, for the Dissenting Ministers in Monmouthshire—one year to Michaelmas	100
Nov. 5th.	To the Earl of Ilchester, one year to Michaelmas last	400
17th.	To Mr. Offley, 1/2 a year due at Michaelmas last	200
	To Mr. Watson of Berwick, one year to Michaelmas	800
	To Mr. Cha[s] Hamilton, 1/2 a year to Michaelmas	600
	To the Earl of Tankerville, 1/2 a year to Michaelmas	400
	To Mr. Keck, 1/2 a year to Michaelmas	300
	To the Earl of Cork, 1/2 a year to Lady Day	400
	To Mr. Burrowes, Beadle of Cambridge, 1/2 a year to Michas.	50
18th.	To Mr. Bull, Mr. Morris's friend, 1/2 a year to Michaelmas	300
	N.B.—Mr. Bull, by Your Majesty's command, is to have an allowance of 600£ pr. ann. from Lady Day.[1]	

[1] Richard Bull of Ongar (1725–1806), the famous print collector (see on him *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1806, p. 289); M.P. for Newport, Cornwall, 1756–1780, returned on the interest of his friend and relative Humphrey Morice, M.P., who had the nomination to the boroughs of Newport and Launceston. Bull was offered this pension by Newcastle on March 17, 1761, but declined: ". . . all Mr. Morice's friends have

1761.		£
Dec. 8th.	To Mr. Geo. Brudenell—one year due at Michaelmas	500
	To Lord Parker, 1/2 a year due at Michaelmas last	300
	To Gordon—two months . . .	20
10th.	To Mr. Fairfax, as a gratuity by Your Majesty's particular order	500
	To Mr. Andrews for Mr. Henry Luxmore of Okehampton, 1/2 a year due at Michaelmas	50
17th.	To the Earl of Cork, 1/2 a year due at Michaelmas last	400
22d.	To Mr. Dodd, one year due at Michaelmas last	500
1762.		
Jan. 7th.	To Mr. White's friend at Retford. One year .	50
	To the Countess Dowager of Warwick, one quarter to X$^{mas.}$	75
	To Lady Charlotte Rich, one quarter to Christmas	50
	To Lord Delamer, one quarter to Christmas .	200
	Retain'd to myself by Your Majesty's special command, one quarter to Christmas last .	1050
12th.	To the Earl of Lincoln as High Steward of	

protested against my skreening disgrace such as his, under any private advantage of my own"; moreover, Morice had written to him: "if you find me particularly neglected, I charge you to accept of nothing from the Duke, except what will give me an honourable reason for saying I am contented". "Now, my Lord," continued Bull, "your kind offer to me, being of an uncertain duration, and of rather too private a nature, I cannot consistent with my own and my friend's honor accept it" (Add. MSS. 32920, f. 308). Morice wrote to Bull from Naples on September 9, 1761: "I shou'd be glad you wou'd let him [Newcastle] know I have desir'd the King will please to nominate who shall be chose for Newport in case of Colonel Lee's death, which I fear . . . can't be far off" [he died in November]. Although Newcastle's treatment of him has been "extremely unkind", he does not want the Duke to imagine "he is to recommend" and be disappointed (Add. MSS. 32930, f. 72). Bull forwarded this letter to Newcastle on October 26 (*ibid.* f. 70). The pension came three months later.

1762.			£
		Westminster for the expences of the Deputy Steward, and Court of Burgesses, one year to Christmas 1760	500
Jan.	12th.	To Mr. Cooke, Mr. Gybbon's friend, 1/2 a year due at Michaelmas last . . .	50
	14th.	To Mr. Guthrie, one quarter to Christmas last .	50
		To the Marquess of Rockingham's two friends —one year due at Michaelmas last . .	250
		To Col. Mordaunt, one quarter to Christmas last	300
	20th.	To Baron Münchhausen, 1/2 a year due at Christmas last	500
		To Mr. James Brudenell, one quarter due at Christmas last	150
	21st.	To Sir Fra$^{s.}$ Poole, one year to Michaelmas last	300
	27th.	To the Earl of Peterborough, one quarter to Christmas last	100
		To Mrs. Boone,[1] 1/2 a year to Christmas last .	200
Feb.	8th.	To Mr. Hewett, 1/2 a year to Michaelmas last .	200
		To Mr. Rivett, 1/2 a year to Michaelmas last .	150
		To Gordon—two months . . .	20
		To Springer, the Swedish merchant, one year to Michaelmas last	100
	17th.	To Mr. Robert Colebrooke, three quarters from the 14$^{th.}$ of April to the 14$^{th.}$ of Jan$^{ry.}$ when he kiss'd Your Majesty's hand, as Minister to the Swiss Cantons . . .	450
		N.B.—This is to be the last payment.	
		To Sir Thomas Hales, by Your Majesty's order, 1/2 a year due at Michaelmas last [2] .	300
		To Mr. Molesworth, one year to Christmas last	200

[1] See Add. MSS. 33056, f. 2, the following receipt:

Newcastle House. Jan. 30, 1762.

Receiv'd of his Grace the Duke of Newcastle, for the use of Daniel Boone, Esq., the sum of two hundred pounds.

for Mr. John Gwilt jun
David Macpherson.

[2] See p. 274.

1762.		£
March 3d.	To Mr. Langford, Mr. Sergison's son in law, one year to Michaelmas last . .	300
April 5th.	To Lord Holmes for the three Isle of Wight boroughs, one year	600
	To Mr. Cavendish. One year to Lady Day [1] .	800
	N.B. — Mr. Cavendish was, by Your Majesty's order, to have an allowance of 800£ pr. ann.	
	To Sir John Fielding, 1/2 a year due at Lady Day	200
7th.	To the Earl of Cork, 1/2 a year due at Lady Day	400
	To Mr. James Brudenell, one quarter to Lady Day	150
	To Mr. Gordon. Two months . .	20
	To Lord Delamer, one quarter to Lady Day .	200
	To the Countess Dowager of Warwick, one quarter to Lady Day . . .	75

[1] Richard Cavendish (1703–69) was the eldest son of Dr. Edward Chandler, Bishop of Durham; he married Elizabeth, daughter of Lord James Cavendish, and, in 1752, assumed her name. He was a barrister, Prothonotary of Common Pleas for the County Palatine and Chancellor of the Diocese of Durham, Solicitor to the Excise, and, since 1737, a Commissioner of the Customs. At the general election of 1761 he was put up and returned for Wendover, which necessitated his resigning the Commissionership, and in anticipation the Duke of Devonshire wrote to the Duke of Newcastle on March 7, 1761: "The chief reason of my troubling you is to remind of Mr. Cavendish as he must soon vacate his Commissioner's place, if he can change it for no employment, he wou'd be glad of a pension. . . . I am very sorry to be troublesome . . . but . . . this is a point that I cannot possibly do without and therefore I hope you will get it done, I am ready to ask it as a favour; is there nobody that has a pension that wou'd exchange?" (Add. MSS. 32919, f. 501). No exchange was effected; Cavendish's place in the Customs was given to John Frederick, for whom no constituency was found at the general election (see p. 407), and Cavendish was accommodated with a private pension. On March 31, 1762, Devonshire wrote to Newcastle: "Mr. Cavendish proposes to wait on you to morrow for some money, a year as he says being due, if you are not ready for him, let me know and I will stop him" (Add. MSS. 32936, f. 237).

1762.			£
April	7th.	To Lady Charlotte Rich, one quarter to Lady Day	50
		To the R^{t} Hon^{ble} Mr. Mackenzie, 1/2 a year due at Lady Day	1000
		Retain'd to myself by Your Majesty's special command, one quarter to Lady Day .	1050
		To Mr. Guthrie, one quarter due at Lady Day	50
		To Mr. Allen, the late Speaker's nephew, 1/2 a year to Lady Day	100
		To Col. Mordaunt, one quarter due at Lady Day	300
	8th.	To Sir Francis Poole, 1/2 a year to Lady Day .	150
		To Mr. Hamilton, the late Duke of Hamilton's relation, 1/2 a year to Lady Day . .	100
	20th.	To Mr. Offley, 1/2 a year to Lady Day .	200
		To Mr. Keck, 1/2 a year to Lady Day .	300
		To Mrs. Krahé, 1/2 a year to Lady Day .	25
		To Mr. Manly, Mayor of Taunton, one year to Lady Day	70
		To Gordon's transcriber, one year to Lady Day	50
	21st.	To the Earl of Peterborough, one quarter to Lady Day	100
		To Lord Willoughby of Parham, one year to Lady Day	400
		To Mr. Bull, Mr. Morrice's friend, 1/2 a year to Lady Day	300
	27th.	To Mr. Jeffreys, 1/2 a year to Lady Day .	250
		To Lord Parker, 1/2 a year to Lady Day .	300
		To Sir Tho^{s} Hales, 1/2 a year to Lady Day .	300
		To Lord Saye and Sele, one year to Lady Day.	600
May	18th.	To Baron Münchhausen, by Your Majesty's particular order, 1/2 a year to Midsummer next	500
		To Lord Morton's friends : Lord Borthwick, Lord Kircudbright, and Lord Rutherfurd's widow, one year to Lady Day — each 50£ pr. ann.	150
		To Mr. Baikie of Orkney, one year to Lady Day	200

1762.		£	s.	d.
May 25th.	To the Earl of Tankerville, 1/2 a year to Lady Day . . .	400	0	0
	To the Earl of Ilchester, 1/2 a year to Lady Day	200	0	0
	To Mr. Medlycott, one year to Lady Day[1]	600	0	0
	To Mr. Thos Watson of Berwick, 1/2 a year to Lady Day . . .	400	0	0
	To Mr. Geo: Brudenell, 1/2 a year to Lady Day	250	0	0
	To Mr. Dodd, 1/2 a year to Lady Day	250	0	0
	To Mr. Acourt Ashe, one year and a half to Lady Day . . .	750	0	0
	To Mr. Alderman Dickenson, Chairman of the Committee . . .	500	0	0
	To Mr. Charles Hamilton, 1/2 a year to Lady Day . . .	600	0	0
	To Mr. Hewett, 1/2 a year to Lady Day	200	0	0
	To Mr. Rivett, 1/2 a year to Lady Day	150	0	0
	To Mr. Molesworth, one quarter to Lady Day	50	0	0
	To Mrs. Boone, one quarter to Lady Day	100	0	0
	To Gordon. Two months to the end of May	20	0	0
	To Mr. Justice Lane. Three quarts to Lady Day . . .	150	0	0
	To Mr. Henry Fane for Lyme, three quarters to Lady Day . .	75	0	0
	To Mr. Ramy of Yarmouth, three quarters to Lady Day . .	150	0	0
	To Mr. Cadogan for Cambridge, one year to Lady Day . . .	550	0	0
	The late Speaker's list, three quarters to Lady Day . . .	270	0	0
	To Mr. Tyrrell, the French officer			

[1] This money was paid into his account at Child's bank; for receipt, see Add. MSS. 33056, f. 20.

1762.		£	s.	d.
	employ'd in Nova Scotia, 1/2 a year to Lady Day . . .	100	0	0
May 25th.	To Querré, the French Pilot, 1/2 a year to Lady Day . . .	50	0	0
	To Mr. Cooke, the late Mr. Gybbon's friend, 1/2 a year to Lady Day .	50	0	0
	To the Marq^{ss} of Rockingham's two friends, 1/2 a year to Lady Day .	125	0	0
	To Mr. White's friend at Retford, one quarter to Lady Day . .	12	10	0
	To Mr. Capel Hanbury for the Dissenting Ministers in Monmouthshire, 1/2 a year to Lady Day .	50	0	0
	For Harwich, 1/2 a year to Lady Day .	50	0	0
	For Orford rents, 1/2 a year to Lady Day	100	0	0
	For Orford expences, 1/2 a year to Lady Day	50	0	0
	To Mr. Andrews for Okehampton, one year to Lady Day . . .	100	0	0
	To Mr. Andrews for Mr. Henry Luxmore of Okehampton, 1/2 a year to Lady Day	50	0	0
	To Mr. Burrowes, Beadle of Cambridge, 1/2 a year to Lady Day .	50	0	0
	To the Earl of Lincoln, as High Steward of Westminster for the expences of the Deputy Steward and Court of Burgesses, one year and a quarter to Lady Day . .	625	0	0
	To Springer, the Swedish merchant, 1/2 a year to Lady Day . .	50	0	0
	To Mr. Langford, Mr. Sergison's son in law, 1/2 a year to Lady Day .	150	0	0
	To Lord Montfort, one year to Lady Day	800	0	0
	To Mr. Fairfax, as a gratuity, by Your Majesty's particular order . .	500	0	0
	The Duke of Newcastle's arrear from old Lady Day (April 5th) to the 26th			

1762.		£	s.	d.
	of this instant, May, following, being the day of his resignation[1] . .	588	19	$2\frac{3}{4}$
	Paid away . .	48,981	9	$2\frac{3}{4}$
	Remains . .	1,018	10	$9\frac{1}{4}$
		50,000	0	0

(initialled) G. R.

[1] The money was paid by H. V. Jones into the Duke's account with Messrs. Hoare; for the receipt see Add. MSS. 33056, f. 19. In it, however, only 9, instead of 19, shillings are acknowledged.

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P. 19, l. 15 *sqq.* Sir Gerard Vanneck, 2nd Bart., died in May 1791, and it was his brother and heir, Sir Joshua Vanneck, 3rd Bart., who was created Lord Huntingfield in 1796.

P. 178, *for* Earl of Gower *read* Earl Gower.

P. 206, l. 6, *for* Lady Sarah Osborn *read* Mrs. Sarah Osborn.

P. 478 *n.*, *for* Ayliffe *read* Ayloffe.

THE END

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